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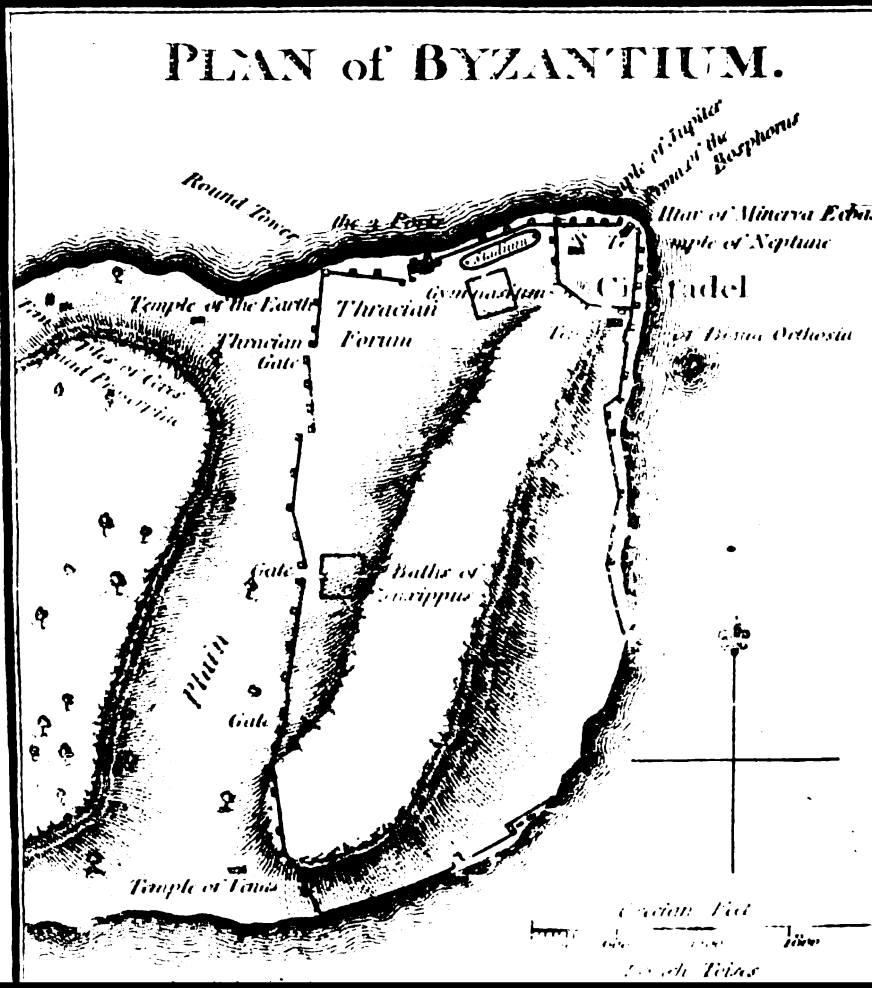

Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece

Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, William Beaumont, Jean Denis Barbié du Bocage

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,

AND A FIFTH,

CONTAINING

MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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PREFACE

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Work now offered to the Engliſh reader exhibits a complete view of the antiquities, manners, cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, laws, arts, and literature of ancient Greece, at the period of its greateſt ſplendour. A knowledge of theſe has hitherto been only attainable by a laborious peruſal of writers who have been little ſolicitous to join entertainment with inſtruction. The Travels of Anacharſis, on the contrary, are ſo written, that the reader may frequently be induced to imagine he is peruſing a work of mere amuſement, invention, and fancy; till his eye glances to the bottom of the page, when he perceives there is ſcarcely a ſentence, and not a ſingle fact or circumſtance, but is ſupported by the authority of ſome ancient author. The amazing number of theſe quotations may, perhaps, at firſt ſight, ſeem to have been unneceſſary, and to have more the appearance of a parade of erudition, than to be of any real utility; but it is to be remembered that, at the ſame time that they muſt be highly acceptable to the man of real learning, by enabling him to refer immediately

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to the original author, they are extremely uſeful, nay, I may ſay, abſolutely neceſſary, even to ſuch readers as can never be ſuppoſed to have any intention to conſult the authorities quoted; as they clearly ſhow that ſuch an idea, or ſuch a circumſtance, is not merely a decoration, or the offſpring of the fancy of the author, but immediately taken from ſome ancient writer, and therefore perfectly accordant to the general ſcope and plan of the work.

A ſummary of the hiſtory of Greece for the ſame period is likewiſe given, in which the ſame novelty of plan is conſiſtently preſerved. In the private letters which paſs between Anacharſis and his friends, relative to the deſigns of Philip of Macedon, and the progreſs of that ambitious and ſubtle politician in his attempts, which ultimately proved but too ſucceſsful, to overturn the liberty of Greece, and render himſelf its ſovereign, the circumſtances are ſelected with great judgment and delicacy: they are preciſely ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been the popular topics of the day among the giddy multitude of Athens; and many of them will be found new even to ſuch perſons as are already tolerably acquainted with the hiſtory of that period. This is indeed a merit which pervades the whole work. The novelty of the plan might have been an apology for the introduction of common-place facts and trite anecdotes: but though it was impoſſible, conſiſtent with the nature of the deſign, not to give many which muſt be familiar to thoſe who are at all acquainted with the Grecian hiſtory and antiquities; yet it is certain there are

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ſtill very many which will be found new by thoſe whoſe knowledge of theſe ſubjects deſerves not to be termed ſuperficial.

As I have ſpoken of the *novelty* of the plan, it may not be improper to mention what has already been ſaid on that ſubject, as it will afford an opportunity to introduce the account which the Abbé has himſelf given of the origin of his deſign, and which may be conſidered as a proper ſupplement to his advertiſement that immediately follows this preface.

In one of the moſt reſpectable of the preſent periodical publications, the author of an extremely judicious critique on the original of this work had hinted the " poſſibility that the learned author of Anacharſis had taken the hint of his plan from the ſuppoſed but excellent ATHENIAN LETTERS; a work very little known, becauſe never (properly ſpeaking) publiſhed. It conſiſts of the imaginary correſpondence of a ſet of Greek gentlemen, the contemporaries of Socrates, Pericles, and Plato; but was in reality the actual correſpondence of a ſociety of ingenious perſons, of the univerſity of Cambridge; who, in this aſſumed mode, communicated to each other the reſult of their reſearches into ancient hiſtory; and produced the beſt commentary on Thucycides that ever was written. At length, the number of their letters became ſo conſiderable, that, to prevent the trouble of tranſcribing them for the uſe of the Society, it was reſolved to print about a dozen copies; which was accord-

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" ingly done by Bettenham, in four octavo volumes, " 1741 *."

The Abbé Barthelemi having ſeen this in France, wrote a letter in conſequence to M. Dutens, a reſpectable foreign gentleman reſiding in London, in which he aſſures him that " it was not till after the publi- " cation of his work that he heard of the *Athenian* " *Letters;* and that chance alone gave him the idea " of it." He adds, " I travelled into Italy in 1755: " the appearance of this beautiful country made me " regret its ancient glory; and I was continually " tranſporting myſelf to that period of the revival of " letters and the arts, when each city ſhould grow " proud with the proſperity of the former, and orna- " ment itſelf with the productions of the latter; " the *Medici*, the *Urſini*, the *Farneſi*, the Houſe of Eſt, " and other petty ſovereigns, hitherto divided by " ſeparate intereſts, ſhould emulate each other in " drawing to their courts both amuſement and ta- " lents. Theſe pleaſing viſions ſo often preſenting " themſelves to my imagination, I thought it might " be poſſible to embody them, in ſuppoſed travels " through Italy, toward the reign of Leo X. I re- " flected for ſome time on this project; and then " perceived it would engage me in inquiries too re- " mote from thoſe which had hitherto occupied my " attention. The hiſtory of the Greeks juſt then " ſuddenly offering to my view a more extended, and " ſtill more dramatic ſcene, I eagerly embraced it;

* Monthly Review, Apendix to Vol. LXXXI.

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" and at my return from Italy, in 1757, began the " *Travels of Anacharsis.*"

I have yet to say a word or two of the translation. I have, in general, been rather solicitous to give the meaning of the original faithfully and accurately, than to be minutely nice in my language and style, At the same time, I have not been unmindful of endeavouring, at least, to make my author speak good English, and untainted, as much as may be, with foreign idiom; but I am far from having sufficient vanity to suppose that from the latter of these defects my version is entirely free. The difficulty of translation is best known to those who have most frequently attempted to render what has been written in one language into another; nor to those who have seldom been so employed can the difficulties by which this species of composition is surrounded, be distinctly known. Unfaithfulness to the author on the one hand, and corruption of idiom on the other, are the Charybdis and Scylla of translators. Different nations not only use different words and expressions to signify the same thing, but have different modes of thinking on the same subject. The ardour and vivacity of our sanguine neighbours frequently appear unnatural, and even ridiculous, to our more phlegmatic countrymen. Metaphors authorized by custom, the great arbiter in every question of this kind, may appear proper, and even elegant, in one language; when in another, to which they are a novelty, they would be esteemed harsh, forced, and inadmissible; and great is the perplexity frequently occasion-

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ed to the tranſlator by ſuch figures: if he admits the metaphor, he offends by riſking an expreſſion unuſual, harſh, and in ſome ſenſe chargeable with foreign idiom; if he entirely neglects it, he enfeebles the language; and if he ſubſtitutes another, more agreeable to the genius of his own tongue, it may be alleged that he has not kept ſufficiently cloſe to the expreſſion of his author. The French language frequently indulges in ſuch figurative expreſſions: the ſentimental ardour of the nation continually produces a ſtyle which to an Engliſh reader will appear to border on inflation and bombaſt. There is certainly much leſs of this ſtyle in the preſent work than in many others in that language; becauſe the author, having formed his taſte on the correct and chaſte models of Antiquity, has given leſs into it: but ſtill the genius of the language will occaſionally diſplay itſelf, and the tranſlator find reaſon to exclaim—

Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſſertis.

But, without purſuing this diſcuſſion farther, I ſhall proceed to what is of more importance to the reader who ſeeks for information—the care that has been taken to preſent him with a faithful and accurate verſion. The tranſlator, though he has beſtowed the utmoſt attention to perform properly this part of his taſk, does not mean arrogantly to affirm that he has committed no miſtakes. If ſuch ſhould be diſcovered, let the wide field, which the work embraces, be taken into conſideration; it includes almoſt every art, and the whole circle of ancient literature: to aſſert that no error has been committed in the expreſſion

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or the proper technical terms relative to these, could only display the presumptuous conceit of ignorance.

As custom has bestowed on languages different metaphors, so also has it furnished some with terms more apposite than others perhaps possess. The French expression *place publique*, used to signify the place which was at once the market, and that in which the people met to converse, and assembled to deliberate on public affairs, appears to me preferable to the term *forum*, by which I have rendered it, and which has been adopted from the Romans, who employed it to express the same kind of place; but it seems scarcely applied with propriety when we are speaking of a Grecian city. The word *tribune*, likewise, which the French employ to signify the pulpit or gallery from which the orators addressed the people, is to be preferred to the word *rostrum*, which I have used to avoid circumlocution. This, like the former, is of Latin origin: the Romans indeed always used it in the plural *(rostra)*; and I should have written it so, had I spoken of that which stood in the Roman forum: but it is more familiar than the word *suggestum*, which indeed might have been more proper, and is to be found in our English dictionaries, where the latter is not.

The French measures in the work and in the tables, I have carefully reduced to English. The leagues I have given as they stood, because the difference between them and a measure of three English miles, is too little to deserve notice. But it may not be improper to mention here, that the league of

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2500 toiſes, uſed by M. Barthelemi in this work, is longe than three Engliſh ſtatute miles by 48 yards, 2 feet, 3 inches. Where an odd number of toiſes has been added to the leagues, I have generally reduced them to the half, quarter, or ſome fraction of the league; but if more accuracy ſhould be required, it may always be obtained by referring to the tables at the end of the work, for the value of the ſtadia, &c. in French and Engliſh meaſures. Some of the reductions into Engliſh yards, feet, &c. in the firſt volumes, differ a little from thoſe given in the tables; becauſe I then uſed the proportion given by Mr. Graham, in vol. xlii. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, according to which the French foot is to the Engliſh as 114 to 107, or equal to 12,785 inches Engliſh: but in reducing the tables, I have made uſe of a later and more correct proportion, given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lviii. page 325, by the preſent Aſtronomer Royal, Dr. Maſkelyne; who, on occaſion of the menſuration of a degree of latitude in North America, applied to that excellent aſtronomer M. de la Lande, who ſent him from Paris two toiſes exactly adjuſted to the ſtandard of thoſe made uſe of by Meſſrs. de la Condamine and Bouguer in the meaſure of a degree of latitude in Peru; from the mean length of which it appeared that the French toiſe contains 767,344 Engliſh inches. The French weights I have computed from the proportion of the French and Engliſh grains, as given by M. Barthelemi himſelf.

In the fifth volume, the maps alone may be con-

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ſidered as a new and valuable work. The introductory obſervations by which they are accompanied, prove the labour and care that the compiler of them, M. Barbié du Bocage, has uſed to render them more accurate than any thing of the kind that has hitherto appeared. The tranſlator has endeavoured to beſtow equal care to give the names of places correctly, as they are found in ancient authors. There is ſcarcely a ſingle town, the name of which has not been ſought for and examined in Strabo, Pauſanias, or Pliny.

I ſhall here conclude my addreſs to the reader and the critic, and ſubmit to the attention of the one and the candour of the other, a work, which, unleſs I am miſtaken, is equal to any that France has for many years paſt produced, and the excellencies of which may perhaps make the defects of the tranſlation paſs unnoticed.

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BY

THE AUTHOR.

I IMAGINE a Scythian, named Anacharſis, to arrive in Greece, ſome years before the birth of Alexander; and that from Athens, the uſual place of his reſidence, he makes ſeveral excurſions into the neighbouring provinces; every where obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, being preſent at their feſtivals, and ſtudying the nature of their governments; ſometimes dedicating his leiſure to inquiries relative to the progreſs of the human mind, and ſometimes converſing with the great men who flouriſhed at that time; with Epaminondas, Phocion, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Demoſthenes, &c. As ſoon as he has ſeen Greece enſlaved by Philip, the father of Alexander, he returns into Scythia, where he puts in order an account of his travels; and, to prevent any interruption in his narrative, relates in an introduction the memorable events which had paſſed in Greece before he left Scythia.

The æra I have choſen, which is one of the moſt intereſting that the hiſtory of nations preſents, may be conſidered in two points of view. With reſpect

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to literature and the arts, it connects the age of Pericles with that of Alexander. My Scythian has conversed with a number of Athenians, who had been intimately acquainted with Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Socrates, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius. I have mentioned some of the celebrated writers who were known to him. He has seen the masterly productions of Praxiteles, Euphranor, and Pamphilus, make their appearance, as also the first essays of Apelles and Protogenes; and in one of the latter years of his stay in Greece, Epicurus and Menander were born.

Under the second point of view, this epocha is not less remarkable. Anacharsis was a witness to the revolution which changed the face of Greece, and which, some time after, destroyed the empire of the Persians. On his arrival, he found the youth Philip with Epaminondas: he afterwards beheld him ascend the throne of Macedon; display, in his contests with the Greeks, during two and twenty years, all the resources of his genius; and, at length, compel those haughty republicans to submit to his power.

I have chosen to write a narrative of travels rather than a history, because in such a narrative all is scenery and action; and because circumstantial details may be entered into which are not permitted to the historian. These details, when they have relation to manners and customs, are often only indicated by ancient authors, and have often given occasion to different opinions among modern critics. I have examined and discussed them all before I have made use

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of them; I have even, on a reviſal, ſuppreſſed a great part of them, and ought perhaps to have ſuppreſſed ſtill more.

I began this work in the year 1757, and, ſince that time, have never intermitted my labours to complete it*. I ſhould not have undertaken it, if, leſs captivated by the beauty of the ſubject, I had conſulted my abilities more than my courage.

The table which follows this advertiſement, will ſhow the chronological order which I have obſerved.

* This was written about the latter end of 1788, when the original was publiſhed.

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

OF THE

TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS.

Bef. Chrift

CHAP. I. Anacharfis departs from Scythia, in April of the Year 363

CHAP. VI. After having made fome ſtay at Byzantium, Leſbos, and Thebes, he arrives at Athens, March 13, 362

CHAP. IX. He goes to Corinth, and returns to Athens, April 1ſt of the ſame year

CHAP. XII. &c. He deſcribes the city of Athens, and gives the reſult of his inquiries relative to the government, manners, and religion of the Athenians, Same year

CHAP. XXII. He ſets out for Phocis, April, 361

CHAP. XXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, and, after having related ſeveral events that had paſſed from the year 361 to the year 357, he treats of ſeveral particulars relative to the cuſtoms of the Athenians, the hiſtory of the ſciences, &c.

CHAP. XXXIV. &c. He departs for Bœotia, and the northern provinces of Greece, 357

CHAP. XXXVII. He paſſes the winter between 357 and 356 at Athens, whence he proceeds to the ſouthern provinces of Greece, March, 356

CHAP. XXXVIII. He is preſent at the celebration of the Olympic games, July, ſame year

CHAP. LIV. &c. He returns to Athens, where he continues his uſual reſearches.

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Bef. Christ.

CHAP. LX. He relates the remarkable events that happened in Greece and Sicily, from the year 357 to the year 354.

CHAP. LXI. He sets out for Egypt and Persia. 354

During his absence, which continues eleven years, he receives several letters from Athens, which bring him information relative to the affairs of Greece, the enterrise s of Philip, and various interesting facts.

CHAP. LXII. On his return from Persia, he finds, at Mitylene, Aristotle, who communicates to him his Treatise on Government, of which Anacharsis makes an abridgment, 343

CHAP. LXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, where he employs himself in his usual researches, Same year

CHAP. LXXII. &c. He makes a voyage to the coast of Asia, and several of the islands of the Ægean sea, 342

CHAP. LXXVI. He is present at the celebration of the festivals of Delos, 341

CHAP. LXXX. He returns to Athens, and continues his inquiries.

CHAP. LXXXII. After the battle of Chæronea, he returns to Scythia 337

TRAVELS

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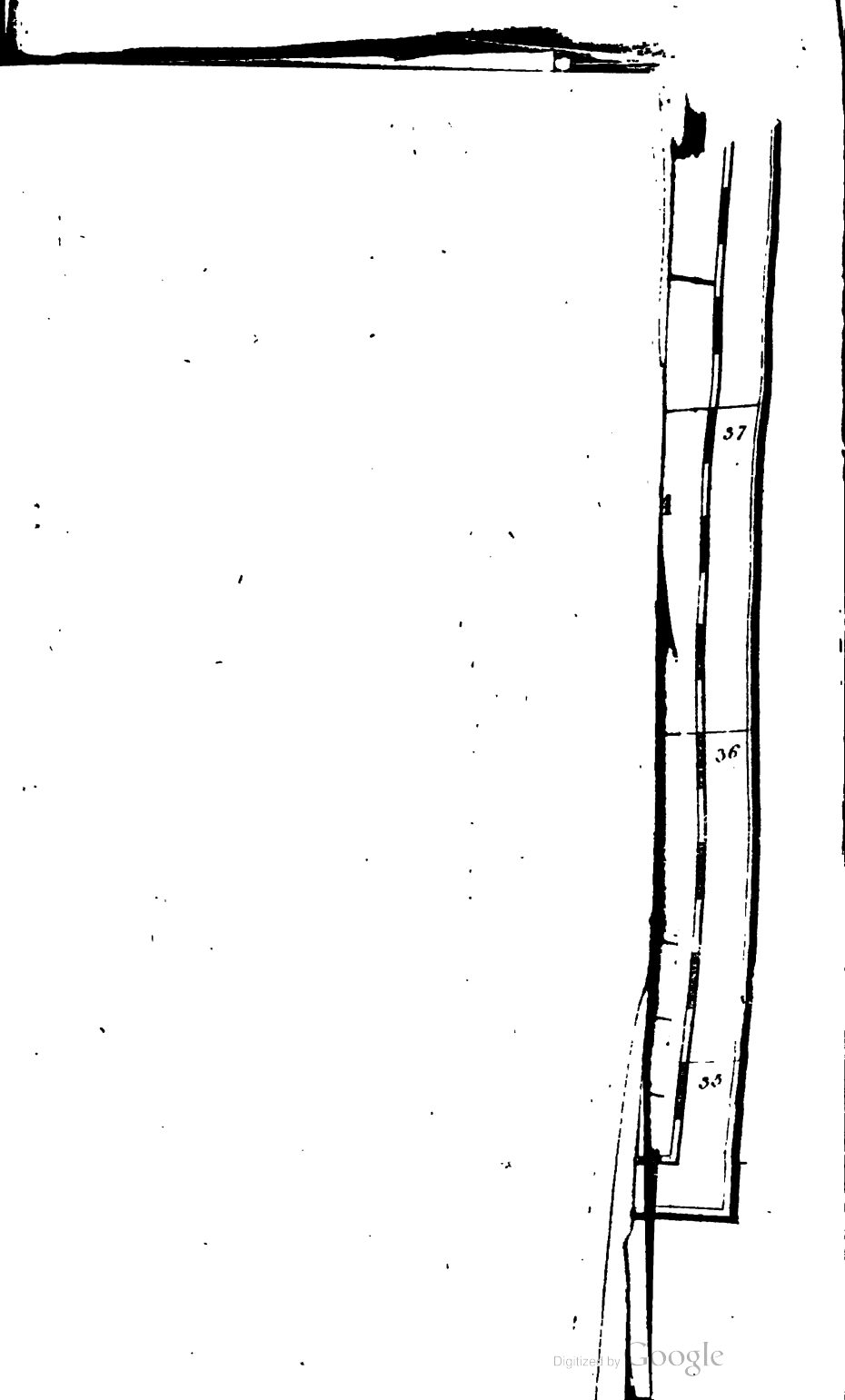

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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

IF we may credit ancient traditions, the first inhabitants of Greece had no other dwellings than profound caverns, which they only quitted to dispute with the beasts of the field their coarse and frequently noxious aliments [a]. United at length under daring chiefs, they found their knowledge, their wants, and their misfortunes increase. A sense of their weakness had rendered them wretched, they became really so from the perception of their powers. War commenced; violent passions were enkindled; and terrible was the destruction which ensued. Torrents of blood were poured forth to secure the possession of a country. The victors devoured the vanquished; death hung over every head, and vengeance filled every heart [b].

But whether it be that man at length wearies of his ferocity, or that the climate of Greece, sooner or later, softens

[a] Plat. in Prot. vol. i. p. 322. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 8. 21. Paus. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 599. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 2. ch. 10.

[b] Euripid. in Sisyph. Fragm. p. 492. Mosch. ap. Stob. Ecl. Phys. lib. 1. p. 18. Athen. lib. 14 p. 660. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 295. Cicer. de Invent. l. 1. ch. 2. t. i. p. 24. Id Orat. pro Sext. ch. 42. t. vi. p. 38. Horat. Sat. lib. 1. sat. 3. v. 99.

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the character of its inhabitants, various hordes of ſavages received with open arms the legiſlators who laboured to civilize them. Theſe legiſlators were Egyptians, who had lately arrived on the coaſts of Argolis. Repairing thither in ſearch of an aſylum, they founded an empire [c]; and it was doubtleſs a beautiful and intereſting ſcene to behold ſavage and barbarous tribes approach, with trembling, the foreign colony; admire their peaceful labours; fell their foreſts, as ancient as the world; diſcover, under their very feet, a ſoil before unknown, and render it productive; ſpread themſelves, with their flocks, over the plains; and ultimately paſs their tranquil and bliſsful days in that peace and ſerenity which have beſtowed on thoſe remote periods the name of the GOLDEN AGE.

This revolution commenced under Inachus [d], who brought into Greece the firſt Egyptian colony [e], and continued under his ſon Phoroneus [f]. In a ſhort ſpace of time, the face of Argolis, Arcadia, and the adjacent countries, was entirely changed [g].

About three centuries after, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus arrived [h]; the firſt in Attica, the ſecond in Bœotia, and the third in Argolis. With them they brought new colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians. Induſtry and the arts now paſſed the boundaries of the Peloponneſus; and their progreſs, if we may ſo ſpeak, added new races of men to the human ſpecies.

Nevertheleſs, a part of the ſavages had retired into the mountains, or towards the northern regions of Greece. They attacked theſe riſing ſocieties; which, oppoſing valour to ferocity, brought them to receive, and render obedience to their laws; or compelled them to fly to other climates, in ſearch of a wretched and fatal independence.

[c] Caſt. apud Euſeb. Chron. lib. 1. p. 11. Syncell. p. 64. 124.

[d] In 1970 before Chriſt.

[e] Freret, Diſ. de la Chronol. p. 275.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 2. chap. 15. p. 145. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131.

[g] Pauſan. lib. 8 p. 601.

[h] Cecrops, in 1657 before J. C. Cadmus, in 1594. Danaus, in 1586.

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The reign of Phoroneus is the most ancient epocha of the history of the Greeks [i], as that of Cecrops is of the history of the Athenians. Since the reign of this latter prince, there is a space of twelve hundred and fifty years, which may be divided into two intervals; the one extending to the first Olympiad, the other terminating with the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians [k]. I shall now proceed to relate the principal events that have occurred in both these periods, chiefly bestowing my attention on those which respect the Athenians; and I think it proper here to apprise the reader, that, under the former, the historical facts and fictions of fable, equally necessary to be known in order to understand the religion, the customs, and monuments of Greece, will be indiscriminately blended in my narrative, as they now are in all our ancient traditions. Perhaps, too, my style may be found tinctured with that of the authors I have consulted. When we wander in the land of fiction, it is difficult not occasionally to borrow its language.

FIRST PART.

The colony of Cecrops derived its origin from the city of Saïs in Egypt [l]. The adventurers who composed it had quitted the happy banks of the Nile, to withdraw themselves from the tyranny of an inexorable conqueror; and, after a tedious voyage, reached the shores of Attica, at all times inhabited by a people whom the fierce nations of Greece had disdained to bring under the yoke. Their sterile fields offered no plunder, nor could their weakness inspire any dread [m]. Habituated to the enjoyments of peace, free without know-

[i] Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 22. Clem. Alex. t. i. p. 380. Plin. lib. 1. cap. 56. tom. i. p. 473.

[k] Cecrops, in 1657. First Olympiad, in 776. Taking of Athens, in 404.

[l] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21. Theopomp. ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 10 No. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

[m] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 130.

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ing the value of independence, rude rather than barbarous, they must have united themselves without difficulty to strangers instructed by misfortune. In a short time, the Egyptians and the inhabitants of Attica formed but one people: but the former assumed over the latter that ascendancy, which sooner or later invariably attends superiority of knowledge; and Cecrops, placed at the head of the united people, conceived the noble design of bestowing happiness on his adopted country.

The ancient possessors of these lands yearly saw a regular succession of the wild fruits of the oak, and relied on nature for a reproduction which secured their annual subsistence. Cecrops presented them with a milder nutriment, and taught them to perpetuate it. Various species of grain were intrusted to the earth [n]. The olive was brought from Egypt into Attica [o]. Trees hitherto unknown extended their branches laden with fruit over rich harvests. The inhabitant of Attica, led by the example of the Egyptians, expert in agriculture, redoubled his efforts, and inured himself to fatigue; but he was not yet stimulated by hopes sufficiently powerful to mitigate his pains, and animate him in his labours.

Marriage was subjected to laws [p]; and these regulations, the sources of a new order of virtues and enjoyments, sufficiently evinced the advantages of decency, the attractions of modesty, and the desire of pleasing; the happiness of loving, and the necessity of constancy in love. The father heard the secret voice of nature in the recesses of his heart; he heard it in the heart of his spouse and of his children. He surprised himself shedding tears, no longer wrung from him by suffering; and learnt to esteem himself by the exertion of sensibility. Families soon became connected by alliances or mutual wants, and ties innumerable united every member of society. The benefits they enjoyed were no longer confined to them-

[n] Schol. Tzetz. ad Hesiod. Oper. v. 32. Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

[o] Syncell. p. 153.

[p] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 6. Athen. lib. 13. p. 555. Suid. in Promet. Nonn. Dionys. l. 41. v. 386. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 773.

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ſelves; nor the ſufferings from which they were exempted foreign to their feelings.

Other motives facilitated the practice of moral and religious duties. The firſt Greeks offered their homage to gods whoſe names they knew not; and who, too far removed from mortals, and reſerving all their power to regulate the progreſs of the univerſe, only made known ſome few of their ſupreme commands, on rare occaſions, in the little diſtrict of Dodona in Epirus [q]. The foreign colonies beſtowed on theſe deities the names they were known by in Egypt, in Lybia [r], and Phœnicia; attributing to each of them a limited empire, and peculiar functions: the city of Argos was particularly conſecrated to Juno [s]; that of Athens to Minerva [t]; that of Thebes to Bacchus [u]. By this ſlight addition to the religious worſhip of the country, the gods ſeemed to become more immediately connected with Greece, and to ſhare its provinces among them. The people believed them more acceſſible, by ſuppoſing them leſs powerful, and leſs occupied. They found the gods preſent with them on every ſide; and, certain henceforward of ſecuring their attention, they conceived a more elevated idea of human nature.

Cecrops multiplied the objects of public veneration. He invoked the ſovereign of the gods under the title of the Moſt High [w]. He erected numerous temples and altars; but prohibited the ſhedding of the blood of victims, whether to preſerve the animals deſtined to agriculture, or to inſpire his ſubjects with horror for a barbarous ſcene exhibited in Arcadia [x]. A man, a king, the ferocious Lycaon, had recently ſacrificed an infant to thoſe gods, whom we cannot but offend when we violate the dictates of nature. The homage offered them by Cecrops was more worthy of their benignity: his offerings

[q] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 52.
[r] Id. lib. 2 cap. 50.
[s] Hygin Fab. 143. Lact. ad Stat. Theb. l. 1. v. 541; l. 4. v. 589. Apoll. l. 3. p. 237. Syncell. p. 153.
[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 49. Freret, Def. de la Chronologie, p. 319.
[w] Meurſ. de Reg. Athen. l. 1. c. 9.
[x] Pauſanias, lib. 8 cap. 2. p. 600.

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were ears of corn or grain, the firſt fruits of the harveſts with which they enriched Attica; and cakes, the tribute of that induſtry, the value of which his ſubjects now began to know.

In all the inſtitutions of Cecrops, wiſdom and humanity ſhone conſpicuous. The end of ſome was to procure his ſubjects a tranquil life, and to enſure to them honour and veneration, even beyond the grave. He ordained that they ſhould depoſit their mortal remains in the boſom of the common mother of all mankind, and that the earth that covered them ſhould immediately be ſown, that the huſbandman might not be deprived of any portion of the ſoil [y]. The relations of the deceaſed, with their heads decorated with a crown, gave a funeral repaſt; at which, without liſtening to the voice of flattery or friendſhip, the memory of the virtuous man was honoured, and a ſtigma fixed upon the wicked. By this inſtructive cuſtom, the people were taught, that the man who aſpired to preſerve, after his death, a ſecond life in the public eſteem, muſt at leaſt wiſh to leave a reputation for which his children might have no cauſe to bluſh.

The ſame wiſdom may be obſerved in the inſtitution of a tribunal which appears to have been erected towards the latter years of the reign of this prince, or at the beginning of that of his ſucceſſor [z]; I mean the ſenate of Areopagus, which, from its firſt eſtabliſhment, never pronounced a judgment that gave juſt occaſion for complaint [a], and more than any thing contributed to give the firſt ideas of juſtice to the Greeks [b].

Had Cecrops been the author of theſe memorable inſtitutions, and of various others which he employed to inſtruct and civilize the Athenians, he would have been the firſt of legiſlators, and the greateſt of mortals; but they were the work of a whole nation, attentive to bring them to perfec-

[y] Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

[z] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3. p. 348.

[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtoc. p. 735.

[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 38.

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tion for a long ſeries of ages. They were brought by him from Egypt; and the effect they produced was ſo ſpeedy, that Attica was ſoon peopled by twenty thouſand inhabitants [c], who were divided into four tribes [d].

So rapid a progreſs attracted the attention of the hordes who lived only by rapine. Pirates landed on the coaſts of Attica; while the Bœotians ravaged the frontiers [e], and ſpread terror on every ſide. Cecrops availed himſelf of theſe inroads, to induce his ſubjects to collect their habitations, then ſcattered over the country, and to ſecure them by a wall againſt the depredations they had lately ſuffered. The foundations of Athens were laid upon the hill where the citadel is ſtill to be ſeen [f]. Eleven other towns were preſently built in different places; and the inhabitants, ſeized with conſternation, ſacrificed what they muſt have held moſt dear, without reluctance. They renounced the freedom of the rural life [g], and ſhut themſelves up within walls; which they would have conſidered as the abode of ſlavery, had they not been compelled to have recourſe to them as the aſylum of weakneſs. Protected by their ramparts, they were the firſt of the Greeks to lay down, during peace, thoſe deſtructive arms, which formerly they had never quitted [h].

Cecrops died after a reign of fifty years [i]. He had eſpouſed the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Attica [k], by whom he had a ſon, whoſe death he lived to ſee; and three daughters, to whom the Athenians afterwards decreed divine honours [l]. His tomb is ſtill preſerved in the temple of Minerva [m]; and his memory perpetuated, in indelible characters,

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[c] Philoc. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 9. v. 68

[d] Steph. in Ἀαν. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. ſect. 109. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423.

[e] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.

[f] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 413. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐρεχθ.

[g] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.

[h] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[i] Suid. in Promet.

[k] Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 239.

[l] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 53. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 18. 27. Etymol in Ἄγλαυρ.

[m] Antioch. ap. Clem. Alexand. t. i. p. 39.

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in the conſtellation of Aquarius, which has been conſecrated to him [n].

After Cecrops, reigned ſeventeen princes, during the ſpace of about five hundred and ſixty-five years, the laſt of whom was Codrus.

The greateſt part of theſe merit not the attention of poſterity; and, in fact, what matters it that ſome of them were deprived by their ſucceſſors of the dignity they had uſurped, and that the names of others have eſcaped by chance from oblivion? Let us ſeek, in the hiſtory of their reigns, thoſe peculiarities which muſt have had an influence on the character of the nation, or have contributed to its happineſs.

Under the reigns of Cecrops and of his ſucceſſor Cranaus, the inhabitants of Attica enjoyed an almoſt continual peace. Accuſtomed to the ſweets and obligations of ſociety, they ſtudied their duties in their wants, and formed their manners from example.

Their knowledge, increaſed by ſuch intimate connections, was ſtill more improved by commerce with the adjoining nations. Some years after Cecrops, the light of the Eaſt penetrated into Bœotia. Cadmus, at the head of a Phœnician colony, brought thither the moſt ſublime of all the arts—that of preſerving, by a few ſimple lines, the fugitive ſounds of ſpeech, and the moſt ſubtle operations of the mind [o]. The invention of letters, introduced into Attica, was there ſoon after employed to preſerve the memory of remarkable events.

We cannot pretend to fix, with any degree of preciſion, the time in which other arts were diſcovered, and can only build on traditions. Under the reign of Erichthonius, the colony of Cecrops accuſtomed horſes, already docile to the bit, to draw wheel carriages [p]; and profited by the labour of

[n] Hygin. Poet. Aſtronom. lib. 2. cap 29.

[o] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 58. Lucan. lib. 3. v. 220. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 20.

[p] Plin. lib. 7. cap 56. t. i. p. 416. Ælian. Hiſt. Var lib. 3. cap. 38. Ariſtid. in Minerv. Orat. t. i. p. 22. Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. v. 113.

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bees, which useful race of insects they carefully preserved on mount Hymettus [q]. Under Pandion, they made new progress in agriculture [r]; but a long drought having destroyed the hopes of the husbandman, the harvests of Egypt supplied the wants of the colony [s], which thence contracted a taste for commerce. Erechtheus, his successor, rendered his reign illustrious by useful institutions [t]; and the Athenians dedicated a temple to him after his death [u].

These successive discoveries redoubled the activity of the people; and, by procuring them abundance, prepared the way for their corruption: for, no sooner did they perceive that the enjoyments of life may be increased, by calling in the aid of art to nature, than the awakened passions hurried them eagerly towards this new image of happiness. Blind imitation, that powerful motive of the greater part of human actions, and which at first had only excited a gentle and beneficent emulation, soon produced the love of distinctions, the desire of preference, jealousy, and hatred. The principal citizens, acting on these various springs at their pleasure, filled the state with dissensions, and directed their ambitious views to the throne. Amphictyon obliged Cranaus to abdicate the sovereignty, and was himself compelled to surrender his crown to Erichthonius [x].

In proportion as the kingdom of Athens acquired strength, those of Argos, Arcadia, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Thebes, Thessaly, and Epirus, were seen gradually to become more powerful, and in various revolutions act their part on the stage of the world.

In the mean time, ancient barbarism again made its appearance, in contempt of laws and manners [y]. Men of extraordinary bodily strength arose at intervals, who infested the high-

[q] Columell. de Re Rustic. lib. 9 cap. 2

[r] M[illegible] Regib. Athen. l. 2. c. 2

[s] D[illegible]ic. lib. 1 p. 25.

[t] I[illegible] ibid. Meursius, ibid. c. 7.

[u] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 55. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib 3 cap. 19. t. ii. p. 503. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62.

[x] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 7.

[y] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3.

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ways to attack paſſengers, and cruel princes, who inflicted lingering and painful puniſhments on the innocent. But nature, which inceſſantly balances evil with good, to deſtroy theſe ſcourges, gave birth to men ſtill ſtronger than the former, no leſs powerful than the latter, and more juſt than either. Theſe travelled over Greece, and freed it from the violence both of kings and individuals: they appeared to the Greeks as beings of a ſuperior order; and that infant people, no leſs extravagant in their gratitude than in their fears, rewarded the leaſt exploits with ſo much glory, that the honour of protecting them became the firſt ambition of noble minds.

This kind of heroiſm, unknown to ſucceeding ages, and ſtrange to other nations, yet the beſt adapted to conciliate the motives of pride with the intereſt of humanity, ſhone forth in every part of Greece, and exerciſed itſelf in a thouſand various ways. Did ſome ferocious beaſt, iſſuing from the receſſes of the woods, ſpread terror through the plains, the hero of the diſtrict held it to be his duty to triumph over the monſter, in view of a people who ſtill conſidered ſtrength as the firſt of qualities, and courage as the ſublimeſt virtue. Sovereigns themſelves, flattered with annexing to their titles the pre-eminence of a merit held in the higheſt eſtimation in their age, engaged in combats, which, by giving proof of their bravery, ſeemed to add legitimacy to their power. But preſently they became enamoured of the dangers they had heretofore contented themſelves with not dreading. They went to court them at a diſtance, or promoted them around their perſons; and as virtues expoſed to praiſes are but too liable to become enfeebled, their bravery, degenerating into temerity, changed its object no leſs than its character. Their enterpriſes were no longer directed by the good of the people; every thing was ſacrificed to violent paſſions, and impunity redoubled their licentiouſneſs. The hand which had lately dragged a tyrant from his throne, deſpoiled a juſt prince of

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the wealth he had inherited from his fathers, or raviſhed from him a queen diſtinguiſhed for her beauty. The hiſtory of the ancient heroes is ſullied by theſe diſgraceful ſtains.

A number of theſe adventurous chiefs, known by the name of Argonauts *, formed the project of making a voyage to a diſtant country, to gain poſſeſſion of the treaſures of Æëtes, king of Colchis [u]. This could not be effected but by traverſing unknown ſeas, and perpetually braving new dangers: but having already ſignalized themſelves individually by ſo many heroic achievements, they concluded, and were juſtified by the event, that by forming a communion of intereſts they ſhould prove invincible. Amongſt theſe heroes, we find Jaſon, who ſeduced and carried off Medea, the daughter of Æëtes, but loſt, during his abſence, the throne of Theſſaly, to which his birth entitled him; Caſtor and Pollux, ſons of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, celebrated for their valour, and ſtill more celebrated for a fraternal union conſecrated by altars; Peleus, king of Phthiotis, who would have been conſidered as a great man, had not his ſon Achilles been ſtill greater than himſelf; the poet Orpheus, who ſhared thoſe labours he alleviated by his ſongs; and laſtly, Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious of mortals, and firſt of the demi-gods [x].

The whole earth is filled with the renown of the name, and the monuments of the glory of the laſt. He was deſcended from the kings of Argos: fable indeed tells us he was the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon; that the Nemean lion [y], the bull of Crete, the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Lernæan hydra, and monſters ſtill more ferocious, fell beneath his arm. He alſo was the conqueror of Buſiris, king of Egypt, who baſely polluted his hands with the blood of ſtrangers; Antæus of Libya, who only delayed their deaths till he had vanquiſhed them in wreſtling; the

* Toward the year 1360 before J. C.

[u] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 12. v. 70. Schol. ibid. Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 145. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 245. Apollod. l. 1. p. 53. Apollon. Argon. &c.

[x] Diod. lib. 4. p. 223. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. p. 494.

[y] Apollod. lib. 2. p. 109, &c.

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giants of Sicily, the Centaurs of Theſſaly, and all the robbers of the earth, whoſe limits he drove backward to the weſt [z], as Bacchus had fixed them to the eaſt. He is ſaid likewiſe to have opened mountains to unite nations; to have dug ſtraits to intermingle ſeas; to have triumphed over hell, and to have given victory to the gods in their combats with the giants.

His hiſtory is a ſeries of prodigies, or rather, it is the hiſtory of all thoſe who have borne the ſame name, and undergone the ſame labours with himſelf [a]. Tradition has magnified their exploits; and by uniting them in one man, as well as by aſcribing to him alone all the great enterpriſes, the authors of which are unknown, has beſtowed on him a ſplendour that ſeems to reflect luſtre on the human ſpecies. For the Hercules men adored is a phantom of greatneſs, elevated between earth and heaven, as it were to fill up the interval. The real Hercules differed from other men only by his ſtrength, and reſembled the gods of the Greeks only by his infirmities: the good and evil he performed in his frequent expeditions obtained him a celebrity during his life, which gave Greece a new defender in the perſon of Theſeus.

This prince was the ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of the ſage Pittheus, who reigned at Trœzene. He was educated in that city, where the fame of the illuſtrious deeds of Hercules filled him with emulation; he liſtened to the recital of them with an ardour the more anxious, as he was united to that hero by the ties of conſanguinity; and his impatient ſoul panted to overleap the barriers by which he was confined [b]. A ſpacious field now opened to his wiſhes. Robbers once more began to make their appearance; and monſters again iſſued from their foreſts; for Hercules was in Lydia.

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[z] Plat. in Phæd. t i. p. 109.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 208. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 500. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 60.

[b] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3.

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To gratify this ardent courage, Æthra discovers to her son the secret of his birth. She conducts him to an enormous rock, which she commands him to raise[c]: he there finds a sword, and other tokens of his birth, by which he was one day to be recognised by his father. Furnished with these, he takes the road of Athens; in vain do his mother and his grandfather persuade him to go thither by sea; the counsels of prudence offend him no less than the suggestions of timidity: he prefers the path of danger and of glory, and quickly arrives at the haunts of Sinis[d]. It was the practice of this cruel man to fasten those whom he had overcome to the branches of trees, which being forcibly bent down, sprang up, laden with the bleeding limbs of the unhappy sufferers. Further on, Sciron had taken possession of a narrow path over a mountain, whence he precipitated travellers into the sea. Still further, Procrustes extended them on a bed, the length of which must be the exact measure of their bodies, which he shortened or lengthened by dreadful torments[e]. Theseus attacked these barbarous robbers, and put them to death by the cruelties they had themselves invented.

After multiplied conflicts and successes, he arrived at his father's court; at that time distracted by violent dissensions, which threatened the sovereign. The Pallantides, a powerful family of Athens[f], saw with regret the sceptre in the hands of an old man, who, as they alleged, had neither the right nor the power to wield it; with their contempt, they openly expressed their hope of his approaching death, and their desire of participating in his spoils. The presence of Theseus disconcerted their projects; and lest Ægeus, by adopting this stranger, should find an avenger and legitimate heir, they infused into him all the motives of mistrust, of which a weak mind is susceptible: but when on the point of immolating his

[c] Plut. ibid. et Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.
[d] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 255.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 5. Diod. lib. 4. pag. 262, &c.
[f] Plut. t. i. p. 5.

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ſon, Ægeus recognized him, and made him known to his people. The Pallantides revolt; Theſeus diſperſes them[g], and inſtantly flies to the plains of Marathon, which had been for ſome years ravaged by a wild bull[h]. He attacked, and having conquered and bound the ferocious animal, exhibited him in triumph to the Athenians, no leſs aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs, than terrified at the dangers of the combat.

Another event ſoon raiſed their admiration to its utmoſt height. Minos, king of Crete, accuſed them of having put to death his ſon Andrógeus, and compelled them by force to deliver him, at ſtated intervals*, a certain number of youths and maidens[i]. Theſe were to be choſen by lot, and their deſtiny was death or ſlavery. It was now the third time that the pledges of their affection were to be torn from their unhappy parents. All Athens was in tears, but Theſeus revived her hopes. He undertook to free the city from this odious tribute; and, to accompliſh the noble project, voluntarily enrolled himſelf in the number of the victims, and embarked for Crete.

The Athenians relate, that it was the cruel practice of Minos to ſhut up his tributary victims, the moment he received them, in a labyrinth, where they were ſoon after devoured by the minotaur, a monſter half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the infamous amours of Paſiphaë, queen of Crete[k]; they add, that Theſeus having ſlain the minotaur, brought back the young Athenians, and was accompanied on his return by Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who aſſiſted him in eſcaping from the labyrinth, and whom he abandoned on the ſhores of Naxos. The Cretans, on the contrary, allege, that the Athenian hoſtages were deſtined to the victors in the

[g] Plut. ibid. p. 6. Pauſan. lib. i. c. 28. p. 70.

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Plut. t. i. p. 6.

* Every year, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3. p. 253; every ſeventh year, according to Diodorus, lib. 4. p. 263; every ninth year, as Plutarch tells us, in Theſ. t. i. p. 6.

[i] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 264. Plut. ibid.

[k] Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 127. Plut. t. i. p. 6. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 253, et alii.

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celebrated games in honour of Androgeus; that Theſeus, having obtained permiſſion to enter the liſts, overcame Taurus, general of the troops of Minos, and that this prince had the generoſity to do juſtice to his valour, and pardon the Athenians.

The teſtimony of the Cretans is more conformable to the character of a prince renowned for his juſtice and his wiſdom: the Athenian account poſſibly originates in their eternal hatred of the conquerors by whom they have been humbled [l]; but both theſe opinions equally prove, that Theſeus delivered his nation from a ſhameful ſervitude; and that, by expoſing his life, he merited the throne left vacant by the death of Ægeus.

Scarcely had he aſcended it, before he formed the plan of ſetting bounds to his authority, and eſtabliſhing a more regular and ſtable form of government [m]. The twelve cities of Attica, founded by Cecrops, were become ſo many republics, each of which had its particular magiſtrates and chiefs almoſt independent [n], whoſe intereſts claſhing continually, produced frequent wars: and though imminent dangers ſometimes obliged them to have recourſe to the protection of the ſovereign, the ſucceeding calm ſoon awakened their ancient jealouſies. The royal authority fluctuating between deſpotiſm and degradation, alternately inſpired terror or contempt; and the people, by the vice of a conſtitution, the nature of which was not exactly underſtood either by prince or ſubjects, had no means whatever to defend themſelves againſt the extremity of ſlavery, or the exceſs of licentiouſneſs.

Theſeus formed his plan; and, ſuperior even to minute obſtacles, took upon himſelf its execution in detail. He traverſed the different diſtricts of Attica, and endeavoured every where to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people, who

[l] Plut. t. i. p. 7.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873. Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 130. Plut. in Theſ. p. 10.
[n] Thucydid. lib. 2. cap. 15.

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with ardour received a project which seemed to restore to them their primitive liberty; but the wealthier class, fearing to lose the authority they had usurped, and apprehensive of seeing a kind of equality established between all ranks of citizens, murmured at an innovation which diminished the royal prerogative: not daring, however, openly to oppose the will of a prince, who was endeavouring to obtain by persuasion what he might exact by force, they consented, but with a secret determination to protest against the measure when circumstances might be more favourable.

It was now determined that Athens should be the metropolis and centre of the state; that the senates of the cities should be abolished; that the legislative power should reside in the general assembly of the nation, divided into three classes, the nobles, the husbandmen, and the artificers; that the first magistrates, chosen out of the former, should have the superintendence of the sacred rites, and be the interpreters of the laws; that the different orders of citizens should form a mutual balance, the first having in its favour the splendour of dignities, the second the importance of services, and the third the superiority of number[o]. It was determined, in fine, that Theseus, placed at the head of the republic, should be the defender of the laws it might enact, and the general of the troops destined to its defence.

By these dispositions, the government of Athens became essentially democratic[p], and, harmonizing happily with the genius of the Athenians, maintained that form, notwithstanding the alterations it underwent in the time of Pisistratus[q]. Theseus instituted a solemn festival, the ceremonies of which preserve the memory of the union of the different people of Attica[r]. He erected tribunals for the magistrates; he enlarged the capital, and embellished it as far as the imperfection

[o] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 11.
[p] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. Eurip. in Suppl. v. 404.
[q] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 9.
[r] Thucydid. lib. 2 c. 15. Plut. t. i. p. 11 Steph. in Athen.

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of the arts at that time would permit. Strangers, invited to become citizens, flocked thither from all parts, and were incorporated with the ancient inhabitants[s]. He added the territory of Megara to the country; he placed a column on the isthmus of Corinth, as a boundary between Attica and Peloponnesus[t], and revived, near this pillar, the Isthmian games, in imitation of those lately instituted by Hercules at Olympia.

Every thing now seemed favourable to his views: he governed a free people[u], retained in obedience by his moderation and his bounties; he dictated laws of peace and humanity to the neighbouring nations[x], and enjoyed a foretaste of that profound veneration with which succeeding ages gradually honour the memory of great men.

Still, however, was he not equal to the complete accomplishment of his glorious undertaking. He grew weary of the peaceful homage he received, and of the mild virtues which were its source. Two circumstances especially contributed to increase his disgust. His emulation, which continually watched the renowned achievements of Hercules[y], was again excited by the new exploits with which that hero had signalized his return into Greece. On the other side, Pirithoüs, son of Ixion, and sovereign of part of Thessaly, either to make trial of the courage of Theseus, or to induce him to quit his tranquil course of life, conceived a project suitable to the genius of the ancient heroes. He carried off from the plains of Marathon the flocks of the king of Athens[z]; and when Theseus appeared to revenge the injury, Pirithoüs seemed struck with a secret admiration, and offering him his hand in sign of peace, "Be my judge," said he; "what satisfaction do you demand?"—"That," said The-

[s] Plut. ibid. Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Schol. ibid.
[t] Plut. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 392.
[u] Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 131.
[x] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 39. p. 94. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.
[y] Diodor. lib. 4. p. 262. Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 125.
[z] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.

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ſeus, "of uniting you with me by the fellowſhip of arms." On theſe words they ſwore an indiſſoluble alliance [a], and joined in forming plans for new and illuſtrious enterpriſes.

Hercules, Theſeus, and Pirithoüs, friends and generous rivals, engaged in the ſame purſuit of glory, ſeeking only for dangers and for victory, appalling guilt, and making innocence tremble, at that time attracted the attention of all Greece. Sometimes attendant on the former, at others followed by the latter, and ſometimes mingling in the crowd of heroes, Theſeus was called on to ſhare in all theſe illuſtrious adventures. He is ſaid to have triumphed over the Amazons, both on the banks of the Thermodon in Aſia, and in the plains of Attica [b]; he was preſent at the chaſe of the enormous wild boar of Calydon, to deſtroy which Meleager, ſon of the king of that city, aſſembled the moſt courageous princes of his time [c]; he ſignalized himſelf againſt the Centaurs of Theſſaly, thoſe daring men, who having firſt accuſtomed themſelves to fight on horſeback, were better enabled to inflict or to ſhun the ſtroke of death [d].

While engaged in ſo many adventures, glorious, it is true, but wholly unprofitable to his people, he aſſociated with Pirithoüs, to carry off the princeſſes of Sparta and Epirus, both diſtinguiſhed by a beauty which gave them immortal celebrity, but which was to each the ſource of fatal misfortunes [e]: the one was that Helen, whoſe charms eventually produced ſuch ſtreams of blood and tears; the other, Proſerpine, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Moloſſi.

They found Helen performing a dance in the temple of Diana; and tearing her from the midſt of her companions, eſcaped by flight from the chaſtiſement that threatened their ſtay in Lacedæmon, and awaited them at Epirus; for Aidoneus, appriſed of their deſigns, delivered Pirithoüs over to be devoured by monſtrous dogs, and precipitated Theſeus into

[a] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 1664. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 29 p. 870.

[b] Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 281. Plut. t. i. p. 12. Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 2. et 41.

[c] Plut. ibid. p. 13.

[d] Iſocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 126. Herod. ap. Plut. in Theſ. p. 13.

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.

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the horrors of a prison, from which he was delivered only by the friendly assiduity of Hercules.

Returning to his kingdom, he found his family covered with disgrace, and the city rent by factions. The queen, that Phædra whose name has so often resounded on the stage of Athens, had conceived for Hippolytus, his son by Antiope, queen of the Amazons, a passion which she herself condemned, which inspired the youthful prince with horror, and shortly terminated in the destruction of them both. At the same time the Pallantides, at the head of the principal citizens, endeavoured to seize on the sovereign power, which they accused Theseus of having enfeebled. The people had lost, in the exercise of their newly acquired authority, all love of order, and every sentiment of gratitude. To these vexations were added the arrival and complaints of Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, who, before they had rescued her from the custody of those to whom she had been confided by Theseus, had ravaged Attica [f], and excited the bitterest murmurs against a king, who, sacrificing every thing to his passions, abandoned the government of his states to roam through distant countries in search of disgraceful adventures, the shame of which he was forced to expiate in chains.

In vain did Theseus labour to remove these fatal impressions. His absence, his achievements, his misfortunes were imputed to him as crimes; and when he attempted to employ force, he soon found that no creature is so feeble as a sovereign degraded in the eyes of his subjects.

In this extremity, uttering the bitterest imprecations on the Athenians, he took refuge in the court of king Lycomedes, in the isle of Scyros [g], where he soon after ended his days *, either from the consequences of an accident, or the treachery of Lycomedes [h], desirous to acquire the friendship of Mnestheus, his successor at Athens.

[f] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 73.
[g] Plut. in Thes. p. 16. Heracl. de Polit. Athen.

* Towards the year 1305 before Christ.
[h] Pausan. lib. 1. p. 41.

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The actions of Theſeus, and the impreſſion they made on the minds of men during his youth, at the commencement of his reign, and at the end of his life, preſent to us ſucceſſively the image of a hero, a king, and an adventurer; and, under theſe different points of view, he merited the admiration, the love, and the contempt of the Athenians.

They afterwards forgot his errors, and bluſhed at their rebellion [i]. Cimon, ſon of Miltiades, by order of the oracle, brought home his bones, and buried them within the walls of Athens [k]. Over his tomb a temple was erected, embelliſhed by the arts, and ſince become the aſylum of the wretched [l]. Various monuments retrace him to our eyes, and recal the memory of his reign. He is one of the genii who preſide over the days of every month [m], and one of the heroes honoured by feſtivals and ſacrifices [n]. Athens, in fine, regards him as the firſt author of her power, and prides herſelf in the title of the city of Theſeus.

The anger of the gods, which baniſhed him from his country, had long weighed heavily on the kingdom of Thebes. Cadmus had been driven from the throne erected by himſelf, Polydore torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian nymphs, Labdacus prematurely carried off by death, leaving only one ſon in the cradle, and ſurrounded by enemies. Such had been, from the foundation of this kingdom, the fate of the royal family, when Laïus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Labdacus, after twice loſing and recovering the crown, eſpouſed Epicaſte, or Jocaſta, daughter of Menœceus [o]; nuptials deſtined to be marked by the moſt horrible calamities. An oracle declared that the child who ſhould be born from this marriage ſhould be the murderer of his father, and the huſband of his mother. This

i Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.

k Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 41. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17.; in Cimon. p. 483.

l Diod. ibid. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Suid. et Heſych. in Theſ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.

m Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.

n Plut. in Theſ. p. 17.; in Cimon. p. 483.

o Diod. lib. 4. p. 266. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 721. Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 10.

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child was born and condemned by the authors of his being to become the prey of wild beasts. Discovered by his cries, or accident, in a lonely place, he was presented to the queen of Corinth, who brought him up in her court under the name of Œdipus, and in quality of her adopted son [p].

Having attained manhood, and being informed of the dangers to which he had been exposed, he consulted the gods, and their ministers confirming by their answer the oracle which had preceded his birth [q], he was precipitated into the calamities he endeavoured to avoid. Resolved to return no more to Corinth, which he considered as his native country, he took the road to Phocis, and in his way met, in a narrow path, an old man, who haughtily commanded him to leave the way open to him, endeavouring at the same time to compel him to obedience by force. This was Laïus: Œdipus repelled his attack, and laid him dead at his feet [r].

After this fatal accident, the kingdom of Thebes and the hand of Jocasta were promised to the man who should deliver the Thebans from the evils with which they were afflicted. Sphinx, a natural daughter of Laïus, associating with a band of robbers, ravaged the plain, detained travellers by artful questions, and led them astray amongst the windings of Mount Phicion, to deliver them into the hands of her perfidious companions. Œdipus unravelled her snares, dispersed the accomplices of her crimes, and, by gathering the fruit of his victory, fulfilled in all its extent the prediction of the oracle.

Incest triumphed on the earth, but heaven hastened to arrest it in its course [s]. Discoveries hateful and horrid soon appalled the guilty couple. Jocasta terminated her misfortunes by a violent death. Œdipus, according to some au-

[p] Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 30. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 181.

[q] Apollodor. ibid. p. 183.

[r] Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 40. Diod. lib. 4. p. 266.

[s] Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 273.

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thors, tore out his eyes [t], and died in Attica, where Theſeus had granted him an aſylum. But other traditions ſay [u], he was condemned to ſupport the light of day, that he might behold thoſe places which had been the ſcenes of his crimes; and to retain life, that he might communicate it to children ſtill more guilty, and no leſs unfortunate than himſelf. Theſe were Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Iſmene, whom he had by Eurygania, his ſecond wife [x].

No ſooner were the two princes of an age to wield the ſceptre, than they confined Œdipus in the receſſes of his palace, and agreed alternately to guide the reins of government during a whole year [y]. Eteocles firſt aſcended that throne under which the threatening abyſs was ſtill open, and refuſed to reſign his power. Polynices repaired to the court of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with powerful ſuccours [z].

Such was the origin of the firſt expedition in which the Greeks diſplayed ſome knowledge of the military art [*]. Hitherto Greece had only beheld bands of men, not ſoldiers, ſuddenly over-run a neighbouring country, and retire after committing a few hoſtilities and tranſient acts of cruelty [a]. In the war of Thebes, projects were firſt ſeen to be concerted with prudence, and purſued with firmneſs: different nations then firſt aſſociated in one and the ſame camp, and were united under the ſame general, braving with equal courage the rigour of the ſeaſons, the tedioufneſs of a ſiege, and the perils of daily combats.

Adraſtus ſhared the command of the army with Polynices, whom he wiſhed to eſtabliſh on the throne of Thebes; the brave Tydeus, ſon of Œneas king of Ætolia; the impetuous

[t] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

[u] Mem. de l'Academ. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hiſt. p. 146. Banier. Mytholog. t. iii. p. 367.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 69. Idem, lib. 9. c. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

[y] Diod. lib. 4. p. 267. Eurip. in Phœniſſ. v. 64. Apollodor. ibid.

[z] Diodor. ibid.

[*] The year 1329 before Chriſt.

[a] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 728.

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Capaneus; Amphiaraus the soothsayer; Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus. Amongst the followers of these warriors, all distinguished by their birth and valour [b], appeared, in an inferior order of merit and of dignities, the principal inhabitants of Messenia, Arcadia, and Argolis [c].

The army having begun its march, entered the Nemean forest, where the generals instituted the games still celebrated with the greatest solemnity [d]. After passing the Isthmus of Corinth, they entered Bœotia, and forced the troops of Eteocles to shut themselves up within the walls of Thebes [e].

The Greeks were yet ignorant of the art of gaining possession of a place defended by a strong garrison. All the efforts of the besiegers were directed against the gates; all the hopes of the besieged consisted in frequent sallies. In these, great numbers had already fallen on both sides; already the valiant Capaneus had been precipitated from the top of a ladder he had reared against the wall [f]; when Eteocles and Polynices resolved to decide their differences by single combat [g]. The day being appointed, the place determined, the people in tears, and the armies waiting in profound silence, the two princes rushed upon each other; and mutually pierced with wounds, breathed forth their last, unable to satiate their vengeance. They were laid on the same funeral pile; and in order to express, by a dreadful image, their implacability during life, it was said that the flame itself, as if animated by their hatred, had divided, that their ashes might remain distinct and unmixed.

Creon, brother of Jocasta, was intrusted, during the minority of Laodamas, son of Eteocles, with the continuance of a war that every day became more fatal to the assailants, and which was terminated by a vigorous sally of the Thebans. The combat was dreadful and bloody; Tydeus, and the chief

b Diodor. lib. 4. p. 267. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 187. Æschyl. in Sept. cont. Theb. Euripid. in Phœniss.

c Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 156.

d Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 189. Argument. in Nem. Pind. p. 319.

e Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.

f Diod. lib. 4. p. 268.

g Apollod. lib. 3. p. 193.

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Part of the Argive generals perifhed in it. Adraftus, compelled to raife the fiege, was unable to beftow funeral honours on thofe who remained on the field of battle [h]. Thefeus was obliged to interpofe his authority to conftrain Creon to fubmit to the law of nations, then beginning to be introduced [i].

The victory of the Thebans only deferred their deftruction. The Argive chiefs had left fons worthy of becoming their avengers. When every thing was ripe for the enterprife *, thefe young princes, among whom appeared Diomed, fon of Tydeus, and Sthenelus, fon of Capaneus, entered the country of their enemies at the head of a formidable army.

A battle foon enfued, and the Thebans having loft it, abandoned the city, which was delivered over to pillage [k]. Therfander, the fon and fucceffor of Polynices, was ftain a few years after, going to the fiege of Troy. After his death, two princes of the fame family reigned at Thebes; but the fecond being fuddenly feized with a dreadful phrenzy, the Thebans, perfuaded that the furies would never ceafe to purfue the blood of Œdipus while there remained a fingle drop of it upon the earth, placed another family on the throne. Three generations after they adopted the republican form of government, which they ftill preferve [l].

It was impoffible that the repofe enjoyed by Greece, after the fecond Theban war, fhould be durable. The leaders of that expedition had returned crowned with glory, and the foldiers laden with the fpoils of their enemies: both were elated with all the pride which victory infpires; and recounting to their children and their friends, eagerly thronging round them, the iffue of their labours and exploits, powerfully ftimulated their imaginations, and inflamed every heart with the ardent thirft of combats. An unforefeen event foon brought into action thefe unfortunate impreffions.

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[h] Diod. lib. 4. p. 268. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 195.

[i] Ifocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 269. Paufan. lib. 1. c. 38. p. 94. Plut. in Thef. t. i. p. 14.

* The year 1319 before Chrift.

[k] Paufan. lib. 9. c. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 38. p. 197. Diod. lib. 4. p. 269.

[l] Paufan. lib. 9. p. 723.

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On the coaſt of Aſia, oppoſite to Greece, peaceably lived a prince, who enumerated only ſovereigns among his anceſtors, and was himſelf at the head of a numerous family, almoſt entirely compoſed of youthful heroes. Priam reigned at Troy; and his kingdom, as well from the opulence and the courage of his people, as from his connections with the kings of Aſſyria [m], diffuſed no leſs ſplendour over this quarter of Aſia, than the kingdom of Mycenæ diſplayed in Greece.

The houſe of Argos, eſtabliſhed in the latter city, acknowledged for its chief Agamemnon, ſon of Atreus. To his dominions he had added thoſe of Corinth, of Sicyon, and ſeveral adjoining cities [n]. His power, increaſed by that of his brother Menelaus, who had lately eſpouſed Helen, heireſs of the kingdom of Sparta, gave him a conſiderable influence in this part of Greece, which, from Pelops, his grandfather, had taken the name of Peloponneſus.

Tantalus, his great grandfather, firſt reigned in Lydia; and, contrary to the moſt ſacred rights, had held in chains a Trojan prince, named Ganymede. Still more recently, Hercules, deſcended from the kings of Argos, had deſtroyed the city of Troy, put to death Laomedon, and carried off Heſione his daughter.

The memory of theſe injuries, ſtill unrevenged, perpetuated between the houſes of Priam and Agamemnon an hereditary and implacable hatred, inflamed from day to day by the rivalry of power, the moſt terrible of the deſtructive paſſions. Paris, the ſon of Priam, was deſtined to bring to maturity theſe latent ſeeds of diſſenſion.

Paris paſſed into Greece, and repaired to the court of Menelaus, where the beauty of Helen attracted every eye. To the advantages of perſon, the Trojan prince united the deſire of pleaſing [o], and a happy combination of agreeable talents: theſe qualities, heightened by the hope of ſucceſs, made ſuch

[m] Plat. de Legib. l. 3. t. ii. p. 685.
[n] Strabo, lib. 8. p. 372.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 39.

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an impreſſion on the queen of Sparta, that ſhe abandoned all to follow him. The Atridæ in vain ſtrove to obtain, by conciliatory means, a ſatisfaction proportionate to the offence; Priam only ſaw in his ſon the avenger of the wrongs his houſe and all Aſia had ſuffered from the Greeks [p], and rejected every accommodating propoſal.

On this extraordinary news, thoſe tumultuous and furious menaces, thoſe rumours which are the forerunners of war and death, broke forth and were heard on all ſides. The nations of Greece were agitated like a foreſt ſhaken by the tempeſt. The kings whoſe power was limited to a ſingle city, and thoſe whoſe authority extends over different tribes of people, alike inſpired by the ſpirit of heroiſm, aſſembled at Mycenæ. They ſwore to obey Agamemnon as their chief in the expedition, to avenge Menelaus, and reduce Ilium to aſhes. Thoſe princes who were at firſt unwilling to enter into the confederation, were ſoon hurried away by the perſuaſive eloquence of Neſtor, king of Pylos; the artful harangues of Ulyſſes, king of Ithaca; the example of Ajax, of Salamis; of Diomedes, of Argos; of Idomeneus, of Crete; of Achilles, ſon of Peleus, who reigned over a diſtrict of Theſſaly; and by a multitude of youthful warriors, already intoxicated with the ſucceſs of which their ſanguine ardour entertained no doubt.

After long preparations, the army, conſiſting of about one hundred thouſand men [q], collected together at the port of Aulis; and was conveyed by near twelve hundred ſail of ſhips to the ſhores of Troas.

The city of Troy, defended by ramparts and towers, was ſtill further protected by a numerous army [r], commanded by Hector, ſon of Priam; under whom ſerved a number of allied princes, who had joined their forces to the Trojans [s].

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[p] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 1.
[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 494, &c. Thucydid. lib. 1. c. 10.
[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 562.
[s] Id. lib. 2. v. 876. lib. 10. v. 434.

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Assembled on the shore, they presented a formidable front to the army of the Greeks, who, after repulsing them, fortified themselves in a camp, with the greatest part of their ships.

The two armies again made trial of their strength; and the doubtful success of several skirmishes evidently foretold that the siege must prove a work of time.

The Greeks with their frail vessels, and but little knowledge of the art of navigation, were unable to preserve an uninterrupted communication between Greece and Asia. The army began to want subsistence. Part of the fleet was employed in ravaging, or in sowing the islands and adjacent coasts; whilst various parties, dispersed over the country, carried off the flocks and harvests. There was yet another reason which rendered these detachments absolutely necessary. The city was not invested; and as the troops of Priam secured it against a sudden assault, it was determined to harass the allies of this prince; at once to profit by their spoils, and to deprive him of their succour. Achilles ravaged the country on all sides with fire and sword [t]: after spreading universal havoc like a destructive torrent, he returned with an immense booty, which was divided among the army, and with innumerable slaves, which the chiefs distributed among themselves.

Troy was situated at the foot of Mount Ida, at some distance from the sea: the Grecian tents and ships occupied the shore; and the intermediate space was the theatre of courage and ferocity. The Trojans and the Greeks, armed with pikes, clubs, swords, arrows, and javelins; covered with helmets, cuirasses, cuisses, and bucklers; their ranks close, and their generals at their head, advanced toward each other; the former with loud shouts, the latter observing a still more dreadful silence. In an instant the leaders, become soldiers, more emulous of giving great examples than prudent coun-

[t] Iliad. lib. 9. v. 328.

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ſels, ruſhed forward into the midſt of danger, leaving it almoſt invariably to chance to beſtow that victory they neither knew how to plan or to proſecute: the troops were thrown into confuſion on the firſt ſhock, like the waves agitated by the winds in the ſtraits of Eubœa. Night ſeparated the combatants; the city on the one ſide, or the camp on the other, ſerved as an aſylum for the vanquiſhed: the victory was bloody, but was far from producing any effect.

On the following days, the flame of the funeral pile devoured the victims of a premature death, and their memory was honoured by tears and funeral games. The truce expired, and hoſtilities again commenced.

Often, in the hotteſt of the battle, a warrior, raiſing his voice, defied ſome chieftan of the enemy to ſingle combat. The troops in ſilence beheld them ſometimes hurl their javelins, and ſometimes enormous ſtones. Frequently they cloſed ſword in hand, and almoſt always mutually loaded each other with inſult, to exaſperate their fury. The hatred of the victor ſurvived his triumph: if he could not mangle the body of his enemy, and deprive it of the rites of ſepulture, he at leaſt endeavoured to deſpoil him of his armour. But, at the ſame moment, the troops on each ſide advanced, either to ſnatch from him his prey, or to enable him to ſecure it; and thus the action became general.

It became ſo likewiſe when either of the armies was alarmed for the life of its champion, or when he himſelf ſought ſafety in flight. Circumſtances might juſtify this latter conduct, but inſult and contempt for ever ſtigmatized the man who fled without a ſtruggle, ſince he only deſerves to live who is at all times ready to brave death. Indulgence, nevertheleſs, was extended to him who did not retire before the ſuperiority of his antagoniſt, till he had experienced his proweſs: for the valour of thoſe times conſiſting leſs in intrepidity of mind than the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, it was no diſgrace to fly when vanquiſhed only by neceſſity; but

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great glory was annexed to the overtaking an enemy in his retreat, and uniting to the ſtrength that prepared the victory, the ſwiftneſs which effected its deciſion.

Aſſociations in arms and ſentiments between two warriors never were ſo common as during the ſiege of Troy. Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and Teucer, Diomedes and Sthenelus, Idomeneus and Merion, and a multitude of other heroes worthy to follow their ſteps, frequently fought by the ſide of each other, and throwing themſelves into the thickeſt of the battle, ſhared at once the danger and the glory. At other times, mounted on the ſame car, one guided the courſers, whilſt the other repelled death, and drove him back upon the enemy. The death of a warrior required a ſpeedy vengeance on the part of his companion: blood demanded blood.

This idea, powerfully impreſſed on their minds, ſteeled the Greeks and Trojans againſt the numberleſs calamities they endured. The former had more than once been on the point of taking the city; more than once had the latter forced the camp, in deſpite of the paliſadoes, the ditches, and walls by which it was defended. Both armies ſenſibly diminiſhed, and the moſt illuſtrious warriors on each ſide ſucceſſively fell. Hector, Sarpedon, Ajax, Achilles himſelf, had already bitten the duſt. Such changes of fortune induced the Trojans to wiſh that Helen might be reſtored; while the Greeks ſighed to reviſit their native country: both however were withheld from any accommodation, by ſhame, and that unhappy propenſity which men have to habituate themſelves to every thing, except what may enſure their tranquillity and happineſs.

The eyes of all nations were fixed on the plains of Troy, on thoſe ſcenes to which glory loudly ſummoned the princes who had taken no part at the beginning of the war. Impatient to ſignalize themſelves on a theatre open to the whole world, they arrived ſucceſſively to unite their troops to thoſe of their allies, and ſometimes fell in a maiden combat.

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At length, after ten years of resistance and painful labour, after having lost the flower of her youth and of her heroes, Troy fell beneath the power of her enemies; and her fall so resounded through all Greece, that it still serves as a principal epocha in the annals of nations *. Her walls were levelled with the dust, her houses, her temples reduced to ashes. Priam expiring at the foot of the altars, his sons weltering in their blood around him; Hecuba his queen, Cassandra his daughter, Andromache the widow of Hector, and numerous other princesses, loaded with chains, and dragged like slaves through the streets, streaming with human blood, and filled with the bodies of a wretched multitude, devoured by the flames, or slaughtered by the avenging sword; such was the catastrophe of this fatal war. The Greeks satiated their inexorable fury; but this cruel pleasure was the end of their prosperity, and the commencement of their calamities.

Their return home was rendered remarkable by the most signal reverse of fortune [u]. Menestheus, king of Athens, ended his days in the isle of Melos [x]. Ajax, king of the Locrians, was lost with his whole fleet [y]. Ulysses, more unfortunate, had often reason to fear the same fate, during the ten whole years which he wandered over the seas. Others, still more to be lamented, were received in their families as strangers, possessing claims obsolete from long absence, and whose persons an unexpected return had rendered odious. Instead of the transports which their arrival ought to have excited, they heard around them nothing but the hateful exclamations of ambition, adultery, and the most sordid interest. Betrayed by their kindred and their friends, the greater number departed under the conduct of Idomeneus, Philoctetes, Diomedes, and Teucer, to seek new connections in unknown countries.

* The year 1282 before Christ.
[u] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 682.
[x] Euseb. Chron. Can. p. 128.
[y] Homer. Odyss. lib. 4. v. 499.

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The houſe of Argos was eſpecially to be diſtinguiſhed for its crimes and inteſtine miſeries. Agamemnon found his throne and bed ſeized on and polluted by an unworthy uſurper. He was aſſaſſinated by Clytemneſtra his queen, who ſoon after was murdered by her ſon Oreſtes.

Theſe horrors, then multiplied in almoſt every country of Greece, and ſtill repeatedly exhibited on the ſtage of Athens, ſhould be a leſſon to kings and nations, and teach them to dread even victory itſelf. That of the Greeks was no leſs fatal to themſelves than to the Trojans. Enfeebled by their exertions and their ſucceſſes, they were no longer able to reſiſt inteſtine diſſenſions, and became habituated to the fatal idea, that war is as neceſſary to a country as peace. In the courſe of a few generations, the greater part of thoſe royal houſes, which had deſtroyed that of Priam, fell to decay, and became extinct; and eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy [z], a part of Peloponneſus paſſed into the hands of the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules.

The revolution produced by the return of theſe princes was brilliant, and founded on the moſt ſpecious pretexts [*]. Amongſt the families which, in the remoteſt times, poſſeſſed the throne of Argos and Mycenæ, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were thoſe of Danaus and Pelops. From the firſt of theſe princes, Prœtus, Acriſius, Perſeus, and Hercules were deſcended; from the ſecond, Atreus, Agamemnon, Oreſtes and his ſons.

Hercules, ſubſervient during his lifetime to the will of Euryſtheus, whom certain circumſtances had inveſted with the ſupreme power, was unable to aſſert his rights, but tranſmitted them to his ſons, who were conſequently baniſhed from Peloponneſus. They more than once attempted to return [a], but were conſtantly prevented by the houſe of Pelops, which, after the death of Euryſtheus, had uſurped the crown: their

[z] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 12.
[*] In 1202 before Chriſt.
[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 261.

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titles were crimes so long as they could be opposed by force; but no sooner did this family cease to be so formidable, than the attachment of the people to their ancient sovereigns was renewed in favour of the Heraclidæ, and the jealousy of the neighbouring powers roused against the house of Pelops. That of Hercules was headed by three brothers, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, who associating with the Dorians [b], entered with them into Peloponnesus, where most of the cities were obliged to recognize them for their sovereigns [c].

The descendants of Agamemnon driven out of Argos, and those of Nestor from Messenia, took refuge, the former in Thrace, the latter in Attica. Argos fell to the lot of Temenus, and Messenia to that of Cresphontes. Euryfthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, who died in the beginning of the expedition, reigned at Lacedæmon [d].

Some time after, the conquerors attacked Codrus, king of Athens, who had afforded an asylum to their enemies. This prince, learning that the oracle promised the victory to that army which should lose its general in the battle, voluntarily devoted himself to death; a sacrifice which so animated his troops, that they entirely defeated the Heraclidæ [e].

Here end the ages usually termed heroic; and here must we place ourselves to conceive a just idea of the spirit of them, and enter into details which the rapid course of events has scarcely given time to indicate.

In ancient times all the states of Greece were monarchies [f]; at this day we see nothing but republics. The first kings possessed only a single city or a district [g]. Some extended their power at the expence of their neighbours, and formed great

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[b] Strab. lib. 9. p. 393.

[c] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 140.

[d] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 18. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. cap. 43. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 151. Id. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 205. Vell. Patercul. lib. 1. c. 2.

[e] Meurs. de Reg. Athen. l. 3. c. 11.

[f] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. Arist. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 297. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. t. iii. p. 161.

[g] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13. Homer, Iliad. lib. 2. v. 495. &c.

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ſtates: their ſucceſſors loſt their authority while they wiſhed to increaſe it to the detriment of their ſubjects.

Had no other colonies emigrated into Greece but that of Cecrops, the Athenians, more enlightened, and conſequently more powerful than the other ſavages, would have gradually brought them under ſubjection, and Greece would have formed only one great kingdom, which would ſtill have ſubſiſted, and have reſembled thoſe of Egypt and of Perſia. But various tribes arriving from the Eaſt, divided it into ſeveral ſtates; and the Greeks every where adopted the monarchical form of government, the nations which poliſhed them being acquainted with no other; it being more eaſy too to obey the commands of a ſingle man than thoſe of ſeveral chiefs, and the idea of at once obeying and commanding, of being ſubject and ſovereign at the ſame time, ſuppoſing more knowledge and combination than can be ſuppoſed in an infant people.

The kings exerciſed the functions of pontiff, general, and judge [h]; the power they tranſmitted to their deſcendants [i] was very extenſive, yet tempered by a council whom they conſulted, and whoſe deciſions they communicated to the general aſſembly of the nation [k].

Sometimes, after a long war, the two pretenders to the throne, or the two warriors they had choſen, preſented themſelves armed; and the right of governing men depended on the ſtrength or addreſs of the victor.

To ſupport the ſplendour of his rank, the ſovereign, beſides the tributes impoſed upon the people [l], poſſeſſed a domain inherited from his anceſtors, which had been augmented by his conqueſts, and ſometimes by the generoſity of his friends. Theſeus, baniſhed from Athens, had no other reſource but the eſtates left him by his father in the iſle of

[h] Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357.
[i] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13.
[k] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 32. Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 261.
[l] Homer. Iliad. l. 9. v. 156. Schol. ibid. Odyſſ. lib. 13. v. 15.

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Scyros[m]. The Ætolians, preſſed by a powerful enemy, promiſed Meleager, ſon of their king Œneus, a conſiderable tract of land, if he would combat at their head[n]. The multiplicity of examples renders it impoſſible to enumerate all the princes who owed part of their wealth to victory or gratitude: but we muſt not omit remarking, that they gloried in the preſents they obtained, becauſe theſe preſents being conſidered as the recompence of benevolence, or the ſymbol of friendſhip, it was honourable to receive, and diſgraceful not to merit them.

Nothing contributed more to add luſtre to the ſupreme authority, and energy to courage, than the ſpirit of heroiſm; nothing harmonized more happily with the manners of the nation, which were almoſt every where the ſame. The character of the men of that day was compoſed of an inconſiderable number of ſimple, but expreſſive and ſtrongly marked features: art had not yet added her colouring to the work of nature. Individuals, therefore, muſt have differed from each other, and nations borne a ſtriking reſemblance.

Bodies naturally robuſt, became ſtill ſtronger by education; minds inflexible and unrefined, were active and enterpriſing, loving or hating to exceſs, always hurried on by the ſenſes, and conſtantly ready to break all bounds. Nature, leſs conſtrained in thoſe who were inveſted with power, diſplayed herſelf with more energy in them than in the people; they revenged an offence by violence or injuſtice; and ſhowing themſelves weaker in grief than in misfortune, if ſenſibility be a weakneſs, they wept over the inſult they were unable to retaliate. Mild and obliging, when treated with friendſhip and reſpect; impetuous and terrible when theſe were wanting, they ſuddenly paſſed from the exceſs of violence to the bitterest remorſe; and repaired their faults with the ſame ſimplicity as they avowed them[o]. In a word, as they nei-

[m] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 16.
[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 573.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 360. Id. lib. 23. paſſim. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 8. v. 402.

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ther knew how to veil or diſſemble their virtues or their vices, princes and heroes were openly inflamed with the thirſt of gain, of glory, and of pleaſure.

Theſe maſculine and haughty minds were incapable of languid emotions. They were agitated at once by the two noble ſentiments of love and friendſhip: with this difference, that love with them was a devouring and a tranſient flame; friendſhip, a lively and continued warmth. Friendſhip produced actions conſidered at this day as prodigies, but formerly as no more than duties. Pylades and Oreſtes wiſhing to die for each other, only did what other heroes had done before them. Love, violent in its tranſports, cruel in its jealouſy, was frequently attended by the moſt fatal conſequences. Over hearts more ſuſceptible than tender, beauty had more ſway than the qualities by which it is embelliſhed; beauty was the ornament of the ſuperb feſtivals given by princes when they contracted an alliance. There, amid kings and warriors, princeſſes aſſembled, whoſe preſence and rivalry were a frequent ſource of diſſenſions and misfortunes.

At the nuptials of a king of Lariſſa, ſome young Theſſalians, known by the name of Centaurs, inſulted the companions of the youthful queen, and fell victims to the vengeance of Theſeus, and ſeveral heroes, who, on that occaſion, ſtood forth the champions of a ſex which they more than once had groſsly injured [p].

The marriage of Thetis and of Peleus was diſturbed by the pretenſions of ſome princeſſes, who, diſguiſed, as was the cuſtom, under the names of Juno, Minerva, and other goddeſſes, were all competitors for the prize of beauty [q].

The princes and heroes were likewiſe aſſembled by another kind of ſpectacle: they thronged to the funeral rites of a ſovereign, and diſplayed their magnificence and addreſs in games

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 272. Ovid. Metam. lib. 12. v. 210. Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 21. v. 295.

[q] Mezir. Comment. ſur les Epîtres d'Ovid. t. i. p. 220. Ban. Mythol. t. iii. p. 182.

celebrated in honour of his memory. Games were exhibited over a tomb, decorum being unneceſſary to grief. The delicacy that rejects all conſolation, is an exceſs or perfection in ſentiment with which they were yet unacquainted; but they well knew how to ſhed unfeigned tears, to ſuſpend them at the command of Nature[r], and again to let them flow when the heart called to mind the memory of its loſſes: "I find a "moſt lively pleaſure," ſays Menelaus in Homer[s], "in "weeping for thoſe who fell before the walls of Troy." Yet this was ten years after their death.

The heroes of that age were at the ſame time religious and unjuſt. When, by accident, to gratify their perſonal hatred, or in their own defence, they had been the cauſe of the death of any one, they ſhuddered at the blood they had ſpilt; and abandoning their throne or native land, went to implore the aid of expiation in ſome diſtant country. After the ſacrifices enjoined them by this ceremony, a purifying water was poured upon the guilty hand[t]; after which they again returned into ſociety, and prepared themſelves for new combats.

The people, ſtruck with this ceremony, were not leſs awed by the menacing exterior conſtantly aſſumed by their heroes. Some threw over their ſhoulders the ſpoils of the tigers and lions over which they had triumphed[u]; others appeared with maſſy clubs, or weapons of different kinds, wreſted from the robbers from whom they had delivered Greece[x].

Thus habited, they preſented themſelves to claim the rights of hoſpitality, rights at preſent circumſcribed within certain families, but then common to all[y]. At the voice of the ſtranger every door flew open, every attention was laviſhed; and while offering the nobleſt homage to humanity, no inquiries were made reſpecting rank or birth, till they had an-

[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 229.; lib. 24. v. 48.

[s] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 4. v. 100.

[t] Ovid. Faſt. lib. 2. ver. 37. Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 664.

[u] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4. Num. Veter.

[x] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4. Numiſm. Veter.

[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 15. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 3. v. 34.; lib. 5. v. 208.; lib. 8. v. 544.

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ticipated every wish of their guest [z]. Not to their legislators were the Greeks indebted for this sublime institution; they owed it to Nature, whose vivid and penetrating light filled the heart of man, and is not yet entirely extinct, since our first moral sensation is an emotion of esteem and confidence for our fellow-creatures, and since distrust would be considered as an enormous vice, did not the experience of repeated perfidy render it almost a virtue.

Yet these ages, though rendered illustrious by actions which do honour to humanity, were also sullied by the most atrocious and unheard of crimes. Some of these have no doubt really been committed; they were the fruits of ambition and vengeance, ungovernable passions, which, according to the difference of times and circumstances, employed to attain their ends sometimes the artifices of cunning, and sometimes open force. The rest owe their origin only to poetry, which, in its paintings, disguises the events of history as it does the operations of Nature. The poets, masters of our hearts and slaves of their own imagination, have brought on the stage the principal heroes of antiquity, and, from a few facts which have escaped the destruction of time, have pourtrayed characters which they vary or contrast at pleasure [a]. Sometimes, depicting them in hideous colours, they transform frailties into crimes, and crimes into atrocious enormities. We detest that Medea, whom Jason brought from Colchis, and whose whole life, it is said, was one continued scene of horrors; yet was she perhaps acquainted with no other magic than her charms, and guilty of no other crime than love [b]. Perhaps, likewise, the greater part of those princes, whose memory is at present covered with opprobrium, were not more culpable than Medea. Those remote ages were not the reign of barbarism, but rather of a certain violence of character, which,

[z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 173. Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 124.; lib. 3. v. 70.

[a] Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 320.

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 249. Parmenisc. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Med. v. 9. et 273. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. Banier, Mythol. liv. 3. chap. 5. t. iii. p. 259.

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by acting without disguise, frequently defeated itself. Yet was it at least possible to guard against the hatred which manifested itself by rage; but how much more difficult is it at present to defend ourselves against those deliberate cruelties and cool hatreds, which patiently wait the moment of revenge! The age really barbarous is not that in which there is most impetuosity of passion, but that which most abounds in duplicity of sentiment.

Neither rank nor sex afforded exemptions from domestic cares, which cease to be humiliating when they are common to all conditions. Sometimes they were associated with agreeable talents, such as music and dancing; and still more frequently with tumultuous pleasures, as the chase, and exercises which conduce to preserve and increase bodily strength.

The laws were few in number and very simple, for it was less requisite to provide for cases of injustice than of insult; and more necessary to curb the passions in their impetuosity, than to pursue vice through all its mazes.

The great truths of morality, first discovered by that admirable instinct which prompts man to good, were soon rendered evident by their manifest utility in practice. The motives and recompence then held forth for virtue were not so much the conscious satisfaction of the mind, as the favour of the gods, the public esteem, and the opinion of posterity [c]. Reason had not yet turned inwardly on herself to examine the nature of moral duties, and subject them to that analysis, which sometimes tends to confirm, and sometimes to overthrow them. It was only generally admitted, that in all the occurrences of life, it is advantageous to render to every man his due; and obeying this answer of the heart, honest men resigned themselves to the dictates of virtue, without regretting any of the sacrifices it requires.

Knowledge was of two kinds: that tradition of which the poets were the interpreters, and the experience acquired by

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 119. Id. Odyss. lib. 2. v. 64.

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the aged. Tradition preſerved ſome traces of the hiſtory of the gods, and of that of men. Hence, the reſpect paid to poets, who were employed to recount theſe intereſting events at banquets, and on all ſolemn occaſions; to adorn them with the charms of muſic, and to embelliſh them by fictions which flattered the vanity of nations and of ſovereigns[d].

The wiſdom of the old men ſupplied the tardy experience of ages [e], and by reducing examples into principles, made known the effects of the paſſions, and the means of bringing them under controul. Hence originated that eſteem for age, which aſſigned it the firſt rank in the aſſemblies of the nation, and ſcarcely granted youth the permiſſion to interrogate it [f].

The extreme vivacity of the paſſions gave an ineſtimable value to prudence, as did the neceſſity of inſtruction to the talent of eloquence.

Of all the powers of the mind, imagination was firſt cultivated, becauſe this is the quality which manifeſts itſelf earlieſt in the infancy of men and nations; and it was more eſpecially nurtured and expanded among the Greeks, from the climate they inhabited, and the connections they contracted with the people of the Eaſt.

In Egypt, where the ſun perpetually darts his burning rays, where the winds, the inundations of the Nile, and other phænomena, are ſubject to a conſtant order, where the ſtability and uniformity of Nature ſeem to evince its eternity, every object was aggrandized by the imagination, which expanding itſelf on all ſides into infinity, neceſſarily inſpired aſtoniſhment and awe.

In Greece, where the ſky, ſometimes troubled by ſtorms, almoſt inceſſantly ſparkles with a pure light; where the diverſity of aſpects and ſeaſons continually preſents the eye

d Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 152. et 838.
e Hom. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 259.; lib. 3. v. 108.; lib. 9. v. 60.
f Id. ibid. lib. 23. v. 587. Id. Odyſſ lib. 3. v. 24.

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with ſtriking contraſts; where Nature at every ſtep, at every inſtant, appears in action, and inceſſantly diverſe from herſelf, the imagination, richer and more active than in Egypt, beſtowed new embelliſhments on every object, and diffuſed a mild and genial warmth through all the operations of the mind.

Thus the Greeks, forſaking their foreſts, no longer beheld objects under a terrific and gloomy veil; and thus the Egyptians, tranſplanted into Greece, gradually ſoftened the ſevere and gigantic outlines of their pictures. Intermingling with each other, and conſtituting but one and the ſame people, they formed a language brilliant in figurative expreſſions; they exhibited their ancient opinions in colours which diminiſhed their ſimplicity, but rendered them more captivating; and as all beings capable of motion ſeemed to them full of life, and they referred to partial cauſes the phænomena to the nature of which they were ſtrangers, the univerſe in their eyes was a magnificent machine, the ſprings of which were acted on at will by an infinite number of inviſible agents.

This was the origin of that philoſophy, or rather that religion, which ſtill ſubſiſts among the people; a confuſed mixture of truths and falſehoods; of venerable traditions and pleaſing fictions; a ſyſtem that flatters the ſenſes, and offends the underſtanding; which breathes only pleaſure, while it teaches and applauds virtue; and of which it may be proper to trace a ſlight ſketch, as it ſtrongly marks the character of the age that gave it birth.

What is that power which has called forth the univerſe from chaos? The infinite Being, the pure light, the ſource of life [g]. Let us give it the moſt amiable of its titles; it is love itſelf; that love whoſe preſence reſtores harmony to all things [h], and from whom both men and gods derive their origin [i].

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[g] Orph. ap. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 390.

[h] Heſiod. Theog. v. 120.

[i] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.

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These intelligent beings disputed the empire of the world; but, cast to the earth in tremendous combats, men were for ever subjected to their victors.

The race of immortals multiplied like that of men. Saturn, issuing from the commerce between heaven and earth, had three sons, who divided the sovereignty of the universe: Jupiter reigns in heaven, Neptune over the sea, Pluto in the infernal regions, and all three over the earth [k]; all three are environed with a multitude of deities, intrusted with the execution of their commands.

Jupiter is the most potent of the gods, for he launches the thunder: his court is the most spendid of all; it is the residence of eternal light; and must be the abode of happiness, since every earthly good proceeds from heaven.

The divinities of the ocean and of the infernal shades are implored in certain places and under certain circumstances; the celestial gods every where, and at every moment of life. They surpass the others in power, for they dwell above us; whilst the former are either beside us, or beneath our feet.

The gods dispense to men life, health, riches, wisdom, and valour [l]. We accuse them as the authors of our sufferings [m]; they reproach us with being wretched from our own faults [n]. Pluto is odious to mortals [o], because he is inflexible. The other gods permit themselves to be moved by our prayers, and especially by our sacrifices, the odour of which is to them a delicious perfume [p].

If they have senses like ourselves, they must have the same passions. Beauty makes on them the same impression as on us. We have often seen them seeking on earth for pleasures, rendered more poignant from their forgetting for a time their exalted nature, and assuming the veil of mystery.

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[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15. v. 193.

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 197.; lib. 7. v. 288.; lib. 13. v. 730.

[m] Id. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 164.; lib. 6. v. 349.

[n] Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 33.

[o] Id. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 158.

[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 48.; lib. 24. v. 425.

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By this peculiar combination of ideas, the Greeks had no intention to degrade the divinity. Accuſtomed as they were to judge of all animated beings by themſelves, they aſcribed their weakneſſes to the gods, and their ſentiments to animals, without imagining that they debaſed the former or elevated the latter.

When they wiſhed to form an idea of the happineſs of heaven, and the attention paid by the immortals to the government of the univerſe, they caſt their eyes around them, and ſaid:

On earth, nations are happy when they paſs their days in feſtivals; a ſovereign, when he aſſembles at his table the princes and princeſſes who reign over the adjacent countries; when youthful ſlaves, perfumed with eſſences, pour out wine in overflowing goblets, and ſkilful ſingers harmoniouſly accord their voices with the lyre [q]: thus, in the frequent banquets of the inhabitants of heaven, youth and beauty, in the perſon of Hebe, diſtribute nectar and ambroſia; the vaulted roofs of Olympus re-echo with the ſongs of Apollo and the muſes, and joy ſparkles in every eye.

Sometimes Jupiter aſſembles the immortals around his throne, and deliberates with them on the affairs of earth, as a ſovereign diſcuſſes thoſe of his ſtates with the nobles of his kingdom. The gods deliver their different opinions, which they ſupport with warmth, till Jupiter pronounces his final deciſion, and the reſt ſubmit in ſilence.

The gods inveſted with his authority communicate motion to the univerſe, and are the authors of the phænomena which aſtoniſh mortals.

Every morning a youthful goddeſs opens the gates of the Eaſt, and diffuſes a refreſhing coolneſs through the air, while ſhe ſcatters flowers over the fields, and ſtrews rubies in the path of the ſun. At this ſignal, the earth awakes, and pre-

[q] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 152; lib. 9. v. 5. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3, t. ii. p. 451.

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pares to receive the god, who daily beſtows on her new life: he appears with a magnificence and ſplendour ſuited to the ſovereign of the ſkies; his car, conducted by the hours, flies and penetrates the immenſity of ſpace, filling it with radiance and genial warmth. No ſooner does he reach the palace of the ſovereign of the ſeas, than night, who cloſely and inceſſantly follows him, extends her gloomy veil, and hangs the celeſtial dome with innumerable fires. Then riſes another car, whoſe mild and conſoling light invites ſuſceptible hearts to meditation. It is conducted by a goddeſs. She is coming in ſilence to receive the tender homage of Endymion. That arch which ſhines with ſuch rich colours, and extends from one ſide of the horizon to the other, is formed by the luminous footſteps of Iris, who is bearing the commands of Juno to the earth. Delightful breezes and horrid tempeſts are cauſed by genii, now ſporting in the air, now ſtruggling with each other to produce a commotion in the waves. At the foot of yon eminence is a grotto, the aſylum of coolneſs and of peace. There a beneficent nymph pours forth from her inexhauſtible urn the ſtream that fertilizes the adjacent plain; there ſhe liſtens to the vows of the youthful beauty, who comes to contemplate her charms in the fleeting waters. If we enter that gloomy wood, it is neither the ſilence nor the ſolitude that occupies the mind: we are in the haunts of the druids and the ſylvans, and the ſecret awe we feel is the effect of the divine majeſty.

To whatever ſide we turn our ſteps, we are in the preſence of the gods; we diſcover them within us and without; they have divided the empire of our ſouls, and direct our inclinations: ſome preſide over war and the arts of peace; others inſpire the love of wiſdom or of pleaſure; all of them cheriſh juſtice and protect virtue: thirty thouſand divinities, diſperſed around us, continually watch over our thoughts and actions [r]. When we act juſtly, heaven prolongs our days and

[r] Heſiod. Oper. v. 250.

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increaſes our happineſs, but puniſhes us when we do evil[s]. On the commiſſion of crimes, Nemeſis and the black furies iſſue, with horrid roarings, from the depths of hell; and gliding into the heart of the guilty mortal, torment him day and night by piercing and funereal ſhrieks. Theſe ſhrieks are the remorſe of conſcience[t]. If the wicked man, before his death, neglects to appeaſe the avenging powers by holy ceremonies, the furies, adhering to his ſoul as to their prey, drag it into the gulphs of Tartarus. For the Greeks univerſally believed the immortality of the ſoul. The following was their doctrine, derived from the Egyptians, concerning that ſubſtance of which we know ſo little.

The ſpiritual ſoul, that is, the mind or intellectual faculty, is enveloped in a ſenſitive ſoul, which is no other than a luminous and ſubtle matter, the faithful image of the body, on which it is moulded, and whoſe reſemblance and dimenſions it for ever continues to retain. Theſe two ſouls are ſtrictly united during life, but are ſeparated by death[u]; and whilſt the ſpiritual ſoul aſcends to heaven, the other takes its flight, under the conduct of Mercury, to the extremities of the earth, where are the infernal regions, the throne of Pluto, and the tribunal of Minos. Abandoned by the whole world, and with nothing on which to rely for ſupport but its good actions, the ſoul appears before this dread tribunal, hears its ſentence, and is admitted to the Elyſian fields, or plunged in Tartarus.

The Greeks, who had founded the happineſs of their gods only on ſenſual enjoyments, were unable to imagine any other delights for the Elyſian fields but a delicious temperature, and a profound but uniform tranquillity: feeble advantages, which did not prevent virtuous ſouls from ſighing for the light of day, and regretting their paſſions and their pleaſures.

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[s] Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 13. v. 214.

[t] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. c. 14. t. iii. p. 127.

[u] Hom. Odyſſ. l. 11. v. 217. Notes of Madame Dacier, on the 10th and 11th books of the Odyſſey.

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Tartarus is the abode of lamentation and despair; the guilty are there consigned to dreadful torments; their entrails are gnawed by cruel vultures, they are whirled round upon the axes of burning wheels. There Tantalus every moment expires with hunger and with thirst, in the midst of a refreshing stream, and beneath trees laden with fruit: there the daughters of Danaus are condemned to fill a vessel, from which the water is continually escaping; and Sisyphus to fix upon the summit of a mountain a rock he labours to roll up, and which immediately falls back of itself when he is on the point of accomplishing his task. Insupportable wants, ever aggravated by the presence of the objects fitted to gratify them; labours perpetually the same, and eternally unsuccessful. What punishments! The imagination that invented them had exhausted the utmost refinements of cruelty to provide chastisements for guilt; whilst it offered no other recompence to virtue but an imperfect felicity, and that too poisoned by regret. Was it believed more salutary to guide men by the fear of punishments than by the allurements of pleasure; or rather, was it easier to multiply the images of misery than those of happiness?

This rude system of religion taught a small number of dogmas essential to the tranquillity of society; the existence of the gods, the immortality of the soul, rewards for virtue, punishments for vice: it prescribed ceremonies which might contribute to maintain these truths, in its festivals and mysteries; it presented civil government with powerful means by which to turn to advantage the ignorance and credulity of the people, in its oracles, and the science of augury and divination; it left every man, in fine, at liberty to adopt the ancient traditions which he thought proper, and incessantly to load with new inventions the history and genealogy of the gods; so that the imagination, free to create facts, and to vary by prodigies those which were already known, never ceased to embellish its details by the marvellous, that orna-

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ment ſo frigid in the eye of reaſon, but ſo full of charms for youthful minds and infant nations. The narratives of the traveller to his admiring hoſts, of the father of a family to his liſtening children, of the bard admitted to the entertainments of princes, were wrought up in the intrigue, and conducted to the cataſtrophe by the intervention of the gods; and the ſyſtem of religion inſenſibly became the ſyſtem of poetry and fiction.

At the ſame time, the erroneous ideas which prevailed reſpecting natural philoſophy, enriched language with a multitude of images. The habit of confounding motion with life, and life with ſentiment; the facility of connecting certain relations ſubſiſting between objects, made men in converſation attribute to the moſt inſenſible beings, a ſoul, or properties wholly foreign from their nature: the ſword was ſaid to thirſt after the blood of the enemy; the dart to fly impatient to deſtroy. Wings were aſcribed to every thing that cleaves the air, to lightning, to the winds, to arrows, to the ſound of the voice; Aurora had roſy fingers, the ſun golden treſſes, and Thetis ſilver feet. Such metaphors were admired, eſpecially for their novelty; and the language of Greece, like that of all nations in their infancy, became poetical.

Such was nearly the progreſs of the human mind among the Greeks, when Codrus ſacrificed his life for the ſafety of his country [x]. The Athenians, ſtruck with this magnanimous action, aboliſhed the regal title; they affirmed that Codrus had raiſed it ſo high, that it muſt be henceforth beyond the deſert of mortals: they adopted Jupiter, therefore, for their ſovereign [y]; and placing Medon, the ſon of Codrus, by the ſide of the throne, they named him archon, or perpetual chief *, requiring him nevertheleſs to render an account of his adminiſtration to the people [z].

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[x] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 11.

[y] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 2.

* The year 1092 before Chriſt.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 297.

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The brother of this prince had oppoſed his election[a]; but on ſeeing it confirmed by the oracle, rather than cheriſh a principle of inteſtine diviſions in their country, they abandoned it to ſeek a happier fortune in diſtant lands.

Attica and the countries which ſurround it were at this time overſtocked with inhabitants: the conqueſts of the Heraclidæ had occaſioned a reflux into this part of Greece of the whole nation of the Ionians, who formerly occupied twelve cities in Peloponneſus[b]. Theſe foreigners, become a burden to the places that ſerved them as an aſylum, and ſtill too contiguous to thoſe they had quitted, wiſhed for a change which ſhould make them forget their misfortunes. The ſons of Codrus pointed out to them, beyond the ſeas, thoſe rich plains in the extremity of Aſia, oppoſite to Europe, part of which was already occupied by thoſe Æolians whom the Heraclidæ had formerly driven out of Peloponneſus[c]. On the confines of Æolia was a fertile country, ſituated in a delightful climate, and inhabited by barbarians, whom the Greeks began to deſpiſe. The ſons of Codrus, propoſing this as the object of their expedition, were followed by a great number of adventurers of all ages and countries[d]: the barbarians made but a feeble reſiſtance; and the colony ſoon found itſelf in poſſeſſion of as many cities as it had held in Peloponneſus; and theſe cities, among which Miletus and Epheſus were conſpicuous, by their union compoſed the Ionic body[e].

Medon tranſmitted to his deſcendants the dignity of archon; but as that office began to give ſome umbrage to the Athenians, they at length limited its duration to ten years*; and their alarms increaſing with their precautions, they finally

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[a] Pauſan. l. 7. c. 2. p. 523. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 5. Velleius Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[b] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 145. Strab. lib. 8. p. 383.

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 149. Strab. lib. 13. p. 582.

[d] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 2. p. 524.

[e] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 142. Strab. lib. 14. p. 633. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 5.

* The year 752 before Chriſt.

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divided it among nine annual magiſtrates *, who ſtill bear the title of archons [f].

Theſe are all the changes which the hiſtory of Athens preſents us, from the death of Codrus to the firſt Olympiad, during a period of three hundred and ſixteen years. Theſe ages, from all appearances, were ages of happineſs; for the calamities of nations are never eraſed from their traditions. We cannot inſiſt too ſtrongly on a reflection ſo afflicting for humanity. In this long interval of peace, Attica undoubtedly produced noble and generous men, devoted to the welfare of their country, and ſages who, by ſuperiority of underſtanding, maintained harmony in all the orders of the ſtate: they are forgotten, for they had only virtues. Had torrents of blood and tears flowed at their command, their names would have triumphed over time; and, in default of hiſtorians, the monuments conſecrated to their memory would ſtill ſpeak for them in the midſt of the public places. Muſt we then deſtroy men to merit altars!

Whilſt Attica enjoyed this ſtate of tranquillity, the other nations of Greece were diſturbed only by ſlight and momentary concuſſions: ages glided on in ſilence, or rather were filled by three of the greateſt men who ever have exiſted; Homer, Lycurgus, and Ariſtomenus. We become acquainted with the two latter at Lacedæmon and in Meſſenia; but every age and place has reſounded with the fame of Homer.

Homer flouriſhed about four centuries after the Trojan war †. In his time, poetry was greatly cultivated among the Greeks: the ſource of thoſe fictions, which conſtitute its eſſence or its ornament, became every day more copious; language ſparkled with imagery, and by its irregularity was better adapted to the wiſhes of the poet ‡. Two remarkable events, the Theban and the Trojan war, furniſhed genius with noble ſubjects. Bards, with their lyres in hand, every

* The year 684 before Chriſt.

[f] Meurſ. de Archont. lib. 1. cap. 1. &c. Corſin. Faſt. Att. diſſert. 1.

† Towards the year 900 before Chriſt.

‡ See note at the end of the volume.

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where ſang to the admiring Greeks the exploits of their ancient warriors.

Orpheus, Linus, Muſæus, and a number of other poets[g], whoſe works are loſt, a circumſtance to which they are perhaps indebted for a great ſhare of their celebrity, had already made their appearance: already that Heſiod, who is ſaid to have rivalled Homer, had entered the career, and in a ſoft and harmonious ſtyle[h] ſung the genealogy of the gods, the labours of the country, and other ſubjects rendered intereſting by his genius.

Homer, therefore, found an art, which for ſome time had been in its infancy, and the progreſs of which was daily quickened by emulation. He took it at this period, and carried it to ſuch a height that he appeared its creator.

He is ſaid to have ſung the war of Thebes[i]: he compoſed ſeveral works which would have given him an equality to the firſt poets of his time; but the Iliad and Odyſſey place him above all before or after him.

In the former of theſe poems he has deſcribed ſome events of the Trojan war; and in the ſecond, the return of Ulyſſes to his country.

During the ſiege of Troy, an event had occurred which had fixed the attention of Homer. Achilles, inſulted by Agamemnon, withdrew to his camp: his abſence enfeebled the Grecian army, and reanimated the courage of the Trojans, who, ſallying from their walls, attacked their enemies, and were almoſt always victors in frequent combats: already were they ſpreading flames amid the ſhips of the Greeks, when Patroclus appeared, clad in the armour of Achilles. Hector attacks him, and he falls; Achilles, who had remained inflexible to all the entreaties of the chiefs of the army, flies again to the field, avenges the death of Patroclus by that

g Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i.

h Dionyſ. Halicar. de Compoſ. Verb. ſect. 23. t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 419. Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 629.

i Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 32. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.

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of the Trojan general; gives order for the funeral obsequies of his friend, and for a ransom restores to the unhappy Priam the body of his son Hector.

These events, happening in the space of a very few days [k], were the consequence of the anger of Achilles against Agamemnon, and formed, in the history of the siege, an episode, which might easily be detached, and which Homer chose for the subject of his Iliad. In treating it, he has observed the historical order; but, to give greater lustre to his subject, has imagined, according to the received system of the age, that from the beginning of the war the gods had been divided between the Greeks and Trojans, and, to render his poem more interesting, has introduced all his characters in action: an artifice perhaps unknown before his time, which has given birth to the drama [l], and which he again employed in the Odyssey with the same success.

More art and knowledge are displayed in the latter poem. Ten years had elapsed since Ulysses had left the shores of Ilium. Unjust plunderers were dissipating his property; they were endeavouring to compel his disconsolate wife to contract a second marriage, and to fix a choice it was no longer in her power to defer. At this moment the scene of the Odyssey opens. Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, repairs to the continent of Greece, to interrogate Nestor and Menelaus respecting the fate of his father. Whilst he is at Lacedæmon, Ulysses departs from the island of Calypso, and, after a perilous voyage, is cast away in a tempest on the isle of the Phæacians, contiguous to Ithaca. In an age when commerce had not yet formed connections between different countries, the inhabitants thronged round a stranger, to hear the narrative of his adventures. Ulysses, pressed to satisfy a court in which ignorance and a taste for the marvellous were excessive, recounts the prodigies he has beheld, moves their pity by the

k Du Poeme Epique, par Bossu, liv. ii. p. 269.

l Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152. Id. de Repub. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 598 et 607. Arist. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

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recital of his sufferings, and obtains succours to return into his dominions. He arrives, discovers himself to his son, and concerts with him efficacious measures to revenge themselves of their common enemies.

The action of the Odyssey lasts but forty days [m]; but, by means of the plan he has adopted, Homer has found the secret of describing all the circumstances of the return of Ulysses; of relating many particulars of the siege of Troy; and displaying the knowledge he had himself acquired in his travels. He appears to have composed this work in an advanced age; some have imagined they discovered this in the multiplicity of his narrations, as also in the mild and tranquil character of the principal personages, and a certain gentle warmth resembling that of the setting sun [n].

Though it was certainly the object of Homer to please more especially the age in which he lived, the moral of the Iliad clearly is, that nations are always sacrificed to the divisions of their leaders; and that of the Odyssey, that prudence, united with courage, triumphs, sooner or later, over the greatest obstacles.

The Iliad and Odyssey were scarcely known in Greece, when Lycurgus appeared in Ionia [o]; the genius of the poet spoke instantly to the genius of the legislator. Lycurgus discovered lessons of wisdom, where ordinary men saw nothing but pleasing fictions [p]. He copied the two poems, and with them enriched his country; from whence they were communicated to all the Greeks. Actors appeared, known by the name of rhapsodists [q], who detached selected passages from them, and travelled over Greece, delighted to hear them repeat their parts. One sang the valour of Diomede; another the farewell of Andromache; and others the death of Patroclus and of Hector [r].

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[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. ii. p. 389.
[n] Longin. de Subl. cap. 9.
[o] Allat de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.
[p] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41.
[q] Schol. Pind. in Nem. od. 2. v. 1.
[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 14. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

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The reputation of Homer ſeemed to increaſe with the diviſion and diſtribution of his verſes; but the texture of his poems was inſenſibly deſtroyed; and as their parts, from being too much ſeparated, were in danger of loſing their connection with the whole, Solon prohibited ſeveral rhapſodiſts, when aſſembled, from taking at hazard detached paſſages from the writings of Homer, ordaining, that in their recitals they ſhould follow the order obſerved by the author, ſo that one ſhould take up the ſubject where the other finiſhed [s].

This regulation provided againſt one danger, but ſuffered another of ſtill greater conſequence to ſubſiſt. The poems of Homer, abandoned to the enthuſiaſm and ignorance of thoſe by whom they were publicly ſung or commented on, daily underwent new corruptions in the recital; they ſuffered conſiderable loſſes, and were loaded with interpolations. Piſiſtratus, and his ſon Hipparchus [t], undertook to reſtore the text to its original purity; they conſulted ſkilful grammarians, offered rewards to every perſon who ſhould produce any authentic fragment of the Iliad and Odyſſey, and after a long and arduous labour, gave complete copies of theſe two noble poems to the admiring Greeks, equally aſtoniſhed at the ingenuity of their plans, and the beauties of their execution. Hipparchus likewiſe ordered that the verſes of Homer ſhould be ſung at the feſtival of the Panathenæa, in the order preſcribed by the law of Solon [u].

Poſterity, which cannot eſtimate the glory of kings and heroes by their actions, hears, as it were, from far the reſounding fame of their immortal deeds, and re-echoes it to following times. But the reputation of an author, whoſe writings ſtill ſubſiſt, muſt be the reſult of the ſucceſſive judgments which conſecutive ages have pronounced in his favour. The glory of Homer, it is to be remembered, has increaſed in pro-

[s] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 57.

[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 594. Meurſ. in Piſiſtrat. cap. 9. et 12. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

[u] Plat. in Hipparc. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 2. not. Periz. ibid. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 161.

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portion as his works have become better known, and his readers more capable of appreciating their real worth. The Greeks have never been so learned and polite as they are at this day, and never were they impressed with so profound an admiration for that poet. His name is in every mouth, and his portrait before every eye; several cities dispute the honour of having given him birth [x]; others have dedicated temples to him [y]: the Argives, who invoke him in their holy ceremonies, send an annual sacrifice into the isle of Chios in his honour [z]. His verses resound through all Greece, and are the brightest ornament of her splendid festivals. In them youth finds its first instructions [a]: from them Æschylus [b], Sophocles [c], Archilochus, Herodotus, Demosthenes [d], Plato [e], and the most esteemed authors, have drawn the greater part of the beauties that abound in their writings; and by them the sculptor Phidias [f], and the painter Euphranor [g], were taught worthily to represent the awful majesty of the sovereign of the gods. How wondrous then is this man, who instructs legislators in the science of politics; who teaches philosophers and historians the art of writing, and poets and orators that of moving the passions; who discloses and expands every talent [h], and whose superiority is so universally acknowledged, that we are no more jealous of his pre-eminence, than of the sun by which we are enlightened!

I am aware that Homer must more especially interest his own nation. The principal houses of Greece think they discover in his works the titles of their origin; and the different states, the epocha of their greatness. Frequently his testi-

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 11. Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 24.

[y] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646.

[z] Certam. Homer. et Hesiod.

[a] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145. Id. in lib. 2. p. 263.

[b] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 347.

[c] Valken. Diatr. in Eurip. Hippol. p. 92.

[d] Longin. de Subl. c. 13. Dionys. Hallicar. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 772.

[e] Panæt. ap. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 32. t. ii. p. 260.

[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7. extern. No. 4.

[g] Eustath. ad Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145.

[h] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. cap. 16. p. 97. Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 187. Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 628.

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mony has even sufficed to determine the ancient limits of two neighbouring nations [j]. But this merit, which he might possess in common with many authors now consigned to oblivion, never could produce the enthusiasm excited by his poems; many other springs must have operated to obtain him among the Greeks the empire of the mind.

I am but a Scythian; and the harmony of Homer's verses, that harmony which transports the enraptured Greeks, frequently escapes my unpolished organs: but I am no longer master of my admiration, when I see this lofty genius, hovering, if I may so speak, over the universe; darting on every side his ardent glances, and collecting those flames and colours with which all objects sparkle in his sight; entering the council of the gods; sathoming the recesses of the human heart; and quickly, rich with his discoveries, intoxicated with the beauties of nature, and, no longer able to support the ardour that consumes him, distributing it with profusion in his descriptions and expressions, making heaven contend with earth, and the passions strive for mastery with each other; dazzling us by those strokes of light which appertain only to superior talents; hurrying us away by those sallies of sentiment that constitute the true sublime, and ever leaving a profound impression which seems to expand and ennoble the soul. For what above all distinguishes Homer, is the power of animating every thing [k], and of perpetually communicating to us the emotions with which he is himself agitated; it is the skill with which he renders every other subordinate to the leading passion; following it through all its transports, its extravagancies, and incongruities; elevating it to the clouds, and again precipitating it, when necessary, from its height, by the force of sentiment and virtue, as the flames of Ætna are dashed by the wind to the bottom of the abyss: it is the felicity with which he has seized great characters, the skill with which

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[j] Eustath. in Homer. t. 2. p. 263.

[k] Arist. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 595.

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he has diversified the power, the bravery, and other qualities of his personages, not by cold and fastidious descriptions, but by rapid and vigorous strokes of pencil, or by novel fictions scattered as it were fortuitously through his works. I mount with him into the heavens: I discover Venus in all her beauty by that girdle incessantly emitting the fires of love, impatient desire, seductive graces, and the inexpressible charms of language and the eyes [l]; I recognize Pallas and her furies, by that ægis on which are suspended terror, discord, violence, and the tremendous head of the horrid gorgon [m]. Jupiter and Neptune are the most powerful of the gods; but Neptune must have a trident to shake the earth [n]; and Jupiter his nod to make Olympus tremble [o]. I descend to earth; Achilles, Ajax, and Diomedes, are the most formidable of the Greeks; but Diomedes retires at the sight of the Trojan army [p]; Ajax does not give way till he has several times repulsed it [q]; Achilles shows himself, and it disappears [r].

These differences are not contrasted in the sacred books of the Greeks, for so the Iliad and Odyssey may be termed. The poet had given a solid basis to his models; he detached at pleasure those discriminating shades, and had them present before his mind, at the very instant he was bestowing on his characters some momentary variations: for, in fact, art alone attributes a constant unity to characters; nature produces none which do not occasionally differ from themselves in the various occurrences of life.

Plato did not find sufficient dignity in the grief of Achilles, nor in that of Priam, when the former rolls himself in the dust after the death of Patroclus, and when the latter has recourse to a humiliating action to obtain the dead body of his son [s]. But how strange is that dignity which stifles the feelings of nature! For my part, I commend Homer for having,

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 14. v. 215.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 5. v. 738.
[n] Id. Odyss. lib. 4. v. 506.
[o] Iliad. lib. 1. v. 530.
[p] Iliad. lib. 5. v. 605.
[q] Iliad. lib. 11. v. 565.
[r] Iliad. lib. 18. v. 228.
[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 388.

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like nature, placed weakneſs by the ſide of ſtrength, and the abyſs by the ſide of elevation; I commend him ſtill more for having ſhown me the beſt of fathers in the moſt powerful of kings, and the tendereſt of friends in the moſt impetuous of heroes

I have known the poet blamed for the inſolent and abuſive language which he puts into the mouth of his heroes, both in their aſſemblies and in the heat of battle; I then caſt my eyes on children who approach much nearer to nature than ourſelves, on the vulgar always in a ſtate of childhood, on ſavages who are always the vulgar; and have obſerved in all theſe, that their anger conſtantly expreſſes itſelf in inſolence and outrage, previous to producing any other effect.

I have heard Homer cenſured for having painted in all their ſimplicity the manners of the times that preceded him; I ſmiled at the criticiſm, and was ſilent.

But when it is alleged againſt him as a crime, that he has degraded the gods, I content myſelf with relating the anſwer made me one day by an intelligent Athenian. Homer, ſaid he, aſcribed to the gods the infirmities of men, according to the poetical ſyſtem of his time [t]. Ariſtophanes has ſince exhibited them on our theatre [u], and our fathers applauded that licence: the moſt ancient theologians have ſaid that men and gods had one common origin [x], and almoſt in our own days Pindar has held the ſame language [y]. It was never imagined, then, that theſe gods could be ſubſtitutes for the idea we entertain of the Divinity; and in fact genuine philoſophy admits a Supreme Being ſuperior to them, who has delegated to them his power. It is that Being whom men of underſtanding adore in ſecret: the multitude addreſs their prayers, and ſometimes their complaints to thoſe who repreſent him; and poets in general are like the ſubjects of the king of Perſia,

[t] Ariſt. de Poet. c. 25. t. ii. p. 673.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 617.; in Plut. v. 1120.; in Ran. &c.
[x] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 126, &c. Vide etiam Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.
[y] Pind. in Nem. od. 6. v. 1. Schol. ibid.

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who proſtrate themſelves before the ſovereign, and inveigh againſt his miniſters.

Let thoſe who are unmoved by the beauties of Homer dwell on his defects. For why diſſemble the truth? He frequently repoſes, and ſometimes ſlumbers; but his is the repoſe of the eagle, who, after viſiting his vaſt domains of air, drops, oppreſſed with fatigue, upon a lofty mountain; and his ſlumber reſembles that of Jupiter, who, according to Homer himſelf, hurls his thunder when he awakes [z].

Whoever ſhall judge of Homer not by frigid reaſonings, but by his feelings, not by rules too often arbitrary, but according to the immutable laws of nature, will undoubtedly be convinced, that he merits all the honours laviſhed on him by the Greeks, and that his works are the greateſt ornament of the ages whoſe hiſtory I have been abridging.

SECOND PART.

IT is not until about one hundred and fifty years after the firſt Olympiad, that the hiſtory of the Athenians, properly ſpeaking, begins. It therefore compriſes only three hundred years, if brought down to the preſent time; and about two hundred and twenty, if concluded at the taking of Athens. In this ſeries of years, it is eaſy to diſcover certain important intervals, which mark the riſe, progreſs, and decline of their empire. If I may be allowed to diſtinguiſh theſe æras by characteriſtic names, I ſhall call the firſt the age of Solon, or of the laws; the ſecond the age of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, or the age of glory; the third that of Pericles, or the age of luxury and the arts.

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[z] Iliad. lib. 15. v. 377.

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SECT. I.

THE AGE OF SOLON *.

THE form of government eſtabliſhed by Theſeus had undergone material alterations: the people ſtill poſſeſſed the right of aſſembling; but the ſovereign power reſided in the hands of the wealthy [a]. The republic was governed by nine archons or annual magiſtrates [b], who did not enjoy their power long enough to abuſe it; and who, in fact, had not ſufficient authority to maintain the tranquillity of the ſtate.

The inhabitants of Attica were ſeparated into three factions, each of which had at its head one of the moſt ancient families of Athens. Divided as they all were by intereſt, diverſity of character, and ſituation, it was impoſſible for them to agree in the choice of a form of government. The pooreſt and moſt independent, confined to the adjacent mountains, favoured a democracy; the wealthieſt, diſperſed over the plain, wiſhed for an oligarchy; while the inhabitants of the coaſts, engaged in maritime and commercial affairs, were for a mixed government, which might ſecure their poſſeſſions, without proving injurious to public liberty [c].

To this ſource of diviſions, each party united the inveterate hatred of the poor againſt the rich. Obſcure citizens, overwhelmed with debts, had no reſource but that of ſelling their liberty, or that of their children, to mercileſs creditors; and the greateſt part of them had determined to abandon a country which held out only ineffectual labour to ſome of them; and eternal ſlavery, and the ſacrifice of every ſentiment of nature, to the remainder [d].

An inconſiderable number of laws, almoſt as ancient as the ſtate, and generally known by the name of Royal Laws [e],

* From the year 630 to the year 490 before Jeſus Chriſt.

[a] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 336.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126.

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

[e] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 856. Meurſ. in Them. Attic. cap. 56.

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were found to be insufficient, since, from the growth of knowledge, new sources of industry, new necessities and vices were diffused through society. Licentiousness was either passed over with impunity, or reprehended by arbitrary punishments. The life and fortune of individuals were left at the discretion of magistrates, who, subjected to no certain limitations, were but too much disposed to listen to their prepossessions or their interests.

In this confusion which menaced the state with immediate destruction, Draco was made choice of, with full powers to exercise the whole of legislation, in its most extensive or circumstantial views. The particulars of his private life are little known to us; but he has left the reputation of a man of worth, possessed of real knowledge, and sincerely attached to his country [f]. Other strokes of character might perhaps embellish his eulogium, but are not necessary to his memory. Like all preceding and subsequent legislators, he formed a code of laws and morals; he took the citizen at the moment of his birth, prescribed the manner of his earliest education [g], followed him through the different stages of his life, and, connecting these partial views with the main object, flattered himself he should be able to form free men, and virtuous citizens; but he only produced malecontents, and his regulations excited so many murmurs, that he was compelled to take refuge in the island of Ægina, where he soon after died.

His laws were strongly impressed with the peculiarity of his character; they were as severe as his manners had ever been rigid [h]. Death was the chastisement he inflicted on idleness, and the only punishment he decreed for the slightest offences, as well as for the most atrocious crimes: he was accustomed to say, that he knew of none milder for the former, and could devise no other for the latter [i]. It seems as if his

[f] Aul. Gell. lib. 11. cap. 18. Suid. in Draconi.

[g] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 261.

[h] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 579.

[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

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powerful mind, virtuous even to excefs, was incapable of any indulgence for crimes at which it revolted, or for thofe weaknefles over which it triumphed without an effort. Perhaps, too, he was of opinion that, in the path of vice, the firft ftep inevitably leads to the moft dreadful precipices.

As he had not attempted any change in the form of government [k], the inteftine divifions augmented from day to day. One of the principal citizens, named Cylon, formed the project of feizing on the fovereign authority: he was befieged in the citadel, where he long defended himfelf, and at length wanting provifions, and deftitute of every hope of fuccour, eluded, by flight, the punifhment due to his crime. His followers took refuge in the temple of Minerva; from which afylum they were enticed by the promife of life, and inftantly maffacred *. Some of thefe unfortunate men were murdered even on the altars of the awful Eumenides [l].

The indignation excited by this action was univerfal; the people at once execrated the perfidy, and fhuddered at the impiety of the victors; and the whole city expected that fome dreadful calamity would be immediately inflicted by celeftial vengeance. Amidft this general confternation, news was brought that the city of Nifæa and the ifle of Salamis had fallen by the arms of the Megarians.

To this melancholy intelligence fucceeded, foon after, an epidemical diftemper. The public imagination, already agitated, was fuddenly feized with panic terrors, and haunted by a thoufand terrifying chimeras. The augurs and oracles being confulted, declared that the city, polluted by the profanation of the holy places, muft be purified by the ceremonies of expiation.

The Athenians, therefore, fent to Crete for Epimenides [m], confidered in his time as a man who had an intercourfe with

[k] Arift. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337.

* The year 612 before Chrift.

[l] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 126. Plut. in Solon. p. 84.

[m] Plato. de Legib. l. 1. t. ii. p. 642.

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the gods, and who saw into futurity; though at present he would be only esteemed a fanatic possessed of knowledge, capable of seducing by his talents, and of commanding respect by the severity of his manners; skilful more especially in explaining dreams, and the most obscure presages [n], and in discerning future events in the causes which were to produce them [o]. The Cretans say, that when young, he was seized in a cavern with a profound sleep, which, according to some, lasted forty years [p]; and much longer, according to others [q]: they add, that on his awakening, astonished at the changes in every thing he saw, and driven from his father's house as an impostor, he was not acknowledged till after he had given the most satisfactory proofs of the justness of his claims. The meaning of this whole story must be, that Epimenides passed the first years of his youth in solitary places, wholly absorbed in the study of nature, forming his imagination to enthusiasm [r], by fasting, silence, and meditation, without any other ambition, than by making himself acquainted with the will of the gods, to secure his dominion over the minds of men. His success surpassed his hopes; and he acquired such a reputation for wisdom and sanctity, that, in times of public calamity [s], nations entreated from him the favour of purifying them by rites, which, as they alleged, he could render more acceptable to the divinity.

Athens received him with transports of hope and fear [*]. He directed that new temples and new altars should be built to immolate the victims he had chosen, and that these sacrifices should be accompanied by certain hymns [t]. As while speaking he seemed agitated with a divine inspiration [u], his impetuous elo-

[n] Arist. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 505.

[o] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 114.

[p] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

[q] Plut. t. ii. p. 784. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 18. t. iii. p. 16.

[s] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

[*] Towards the year 597 before C. See note at the end of the volume.

[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 479.

[u] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 18. t. iii. p. 16.

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quence was irresistible. He availed himself of the ascendency he had acquired to effect several changes in the religious ceremonies then in use; and in this respect he may be esteemed one of the legislators of Athens. He rendered these ceremonies less expensive [x]; he abolished the barbarous practice of the women, who cut and disfigured their faces while accompanying the dead to the tomb; and, by a multitude of useful regulations, endeavoured to bring back the Athenians to the true principles of social union and justice.

The confidence he had inspired, and the time necessary for complying with his directions, insensibly calmed the minds of the people: the phantoms disappeared, and Epimenides departed, covered with glory, and honoured with the regret of a whole nation; he refused considerable presents, and only demanded for himself a branch of the olive consecrated to Minerva, and the friendship of the Athenians for Cnossus his country [y].

Soon after his departure, the factions again revived with redoubled fury; and their excesses were carried to such a height, as quickly to reduce them to that extremity, which leaves no other alternative to a state, but to incur certain ruin, or submit to be guided by the genius of a single man.

Solon was therefore unanimously raised to the dignity of first magistrate, legislator, and sovereign arbiter *. He was urged to mount the throne; but as he was doubtful whether it would be easy to descend from it, he resisted at once the reproaches of his friends, and the entreaties of the leaders of the factions, and of the wiser part of the citizens [z].

Solon was descended from the ancient kings of Athens [a]; from his earliest youth, he had applied himself to commerce, either to repair the injuries which the liberality of his father had done to the fortune of his family, or to become acquainted with the manners and laws of different nations. After

[x] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 84.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642. Plut. ibid. Laert. lib. 1. § 111.
* Towards the year 594 before C.
[z] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 78.

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acquiring ſufficient property in that profeſſion to place himſelf beyond the reach of want, and to render unneceſſary the generous offers of his friends, he continued to purſue his travels, with the ſole view of increaſing his ſtock of knowledge [b].

The learning of that time was in the poſſeſſion of a few virtuous men, known by the name of ſages, and diſperſed through the different diſtricts of Greece. The ſole object of their ſtudy was man, what he is, what he ought to be, and in what manner he may beſt be inſtructed and governed. They collected the ſmall number of moral and political truths, and compriſed them in maxims ſufficiently clear to be comprehended at the firſt glance, and preciſe enough to be, or to appear profound. Each of them ſelected one of theſe in preference, which became, as it were, his device, and the ſtandard of his conduct: "Too much of nothing," ſaid one; "Know thyſelf," ſaid another [c]. This conciſeneſs and accuracy, which the Spartans have retained in their ſtyle, was common in the anſwers formerly given by the ſages to the frequent queſtions of kings and individuals. United by a friendſhip never diminiſhed by their celebrity, they ſometimes aſſembled at the ſame place, to communicate their obſervations, and to conſult together for the intereſts of mankind [d].

In theſe auguſt aſſemblies appeared Thales of Miletus, who was at that time laying the foundation of a more general, but perhaps leſs uſeful philoſophy; Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myſon of Chena, Chilo of Lacedæmon, and Solon of Athens, the moſt illuſtrious of them all [e]. Nor will the ties of conſanguinity, or the memory of the places that gave me birth, permit me to forget Anacharſis, brought by the rumour of his celebrity from the moſt diſtant part of Scythia, and whom Greece, jealous as

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 79.
[c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Thal. lib. 1. § 40.
[e] Plat. ibid. Plut. ibid.

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ſhe is of the merit of foreigners, ſometimes places in the number of the ſages ſhe reveres [f].

To the information which Solon derived from his intercourſe with theſe great men, he had united diſtinguiſhed talents. He was born with a genius for poetry, which he cultivated to his extreme old age, but always without an effort, and without arrogance. His early eſſays were only works of recreation. In his other writings, we find hymns in honour of the gods, various alluſions intended to juſtify his legiſlation, counſels or reproaches addreſſed to the Athenians [g]; almoſt every where a pure morality, and beauties diſcloſing genius. In the later years of his life, having obtained an intimate acquaintance with the traditions of the Egyptians, he had undertaken to deſcribe, in a poem, the revolutions which have happened on our globe, and the wars of the Athenians with the inhabitants of the iſland of Atlantis, ſituated beyond the pillars of Hercules, and ſince ſwallowed up by the ocean [h]. If, free from every other care, he had, in a leſs advanced age, treated a ſubject ſo adapted to diſplay the vigour of his imagination, he might perhaps have participated in the glory of Homer and of Heſiod [i].

He may be reproached with not having ſhown a ſufficient enmity to riches, though he was not anxious to acquire them; with having ſometimes expreſſed himſelf concerning pleaſure in a manner not the moſt worthy of a philoſopher [k], and of not obſerving in his conduct that auſterity of manners which becomes the reformer of a nation. It ſhould ſeem as if his mild and eaſy character only deſtined him to lead a peaceful life in the boſom of the arts and innocent enjoyments.

Yet we muſt allow, that, on certain occaſions, he proved himſelf neither deficient in vigour nor in conſtancy. He it was who engaged the Athenians to recover the iſle of Salamis, in defiance of the rigorous injunction they had laid on their

f Hermip. ap. Laert. lib. 1. § 41.
g Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Solon. § 47.
h Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 113.
i Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21.
k Plut. in Solon. p. 79.

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orators, not even to propose its conquest [l]: and his superior courage seemed more especially distinguished in the first act of authority he exercised when at the head of the republic.

The poor, determined to risk every thing to escape from oppression, loudly demanded a new partition of the lands, preceded by an abolition of debts. The rich opposed, with the same ardour, claims which would have confounded them with the multitude, and, according to them, must have inevitably overturned the state. In this extremity, Solon abolished the debts of individuals, annulled all the acts which fettered the liberty of the citizen, and refused to equalize the distribution of the lands [m]. Both rich and poor thought that all was lost, because they had not obtained all; but when the former found themselves still peaceable possessors of the estates they had inherited from their ancestors, or which they had themselves acquired; when the latter, for ever released from the dread of slavery, saw their little patrimonies freed from every species of servitude; when industry, in fine, was seen to flourish, confidence to be re-established, and a number of unfortunate citizens, whom the severity of creditors had driven from their country, were encouraged to return; their murmurs gave place to sentiments of gratitude, and the people, admiring the wisdom of their legislator, added new powers to those with which they already had invested him.

He availed himself of these to revise the laws of Draco, the abolition of which was demanded by the Athenians. Those respecting homicide were preserved unrepealed [n], and they are still enforced by the tribunals, where the name of Draco is never pronounced but with the veneration due to the benefactors of mankind [o].

Emboldened by success, Solon completed the work of his legislation. He first regulated the form of government, and

[l] Plut. in Solon. p. 82.
[m] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 805. Æschin. in Timarc. p. 261.

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next enacted laws to ſecure the tranquillity of the citizen. His principle was, in the firſt part of his plan, to eſtabliſh that equality which alone ought to ſubſiſt between the different orders of the ſtate in a republic [p]; and, in the ſecond, he was guided by the maxim, that the beſt government is that in which is found a wiſe diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments [q].

Solon, preferring the popular form of government to every other, beſtowed his firſt attention on three eſſential objects; the aſſembly of the nation, the choice of magiſtrates, and the tribunals of juſtice.

It was determined that the ſupreme power ſhould reſide in the aſſemblies, at which every citizen ſhould have a right to be preſent [r], and where all ordinances reſpecting peace, war, alliances, laws, impoſts, and all the great intereſts of the ſtate, ſhould originate [s].

But what will become of theſe intereſts in the hands of a giddy and ignorant multitude, who forget what they ſhould vote for during the deliberation, and the voice they have given when the deliberation is at an end [t]? To direct them in their deciſions, Solon inſtituted a ſenate compoſed of four hundred perſons, choſen from the four tribes, compriſing at that time all the citizens of Attica [u]. Theſe four hundred perſons might be conſidered as the deputies and repreſentatives of the ſtate. It was ordained, that all affairs on which the people were finally to pronounce, ſhould be firſt propoſed to them, and that, after examining and diſcuſſing theſe propoſitions at their leiſure, they ſhould themſelves report them to the general aſſembly; and hence the fundamental law, that every deciſion of the people ſhall be preceded by a decree of the ſenate [x].

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p Solon. ap. Plut. ibid. p. 88.

q Cicer. Epiſt. 15. ad Brutum, t. ix. p. 115.

r Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

s Ariſt. de Rhet. ad Alex. c. 3. t. ii. p. 612.

t Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 314.

u Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

x Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 541. Id. in Androt. p. 699. Liban. in Androt. p. 696. Plut. ibid. Harpocr. in πρόβουλα.

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Since all the citizens have the right of being present at the assembly, they must possess that of giving their suffrages. But there would be reason to fear, that after the report of the senate, inexperienced men might suddenly take possession of the rostrum, and mislead the multitude. The first impressions they are to receive, therefore, must be previously prepared; and hence it was regulated, that the first suffrages should be given by men who had passed the fiftieth year of their age [y].

In certain republics, a set of men arose, who devoted themselves to the profession of haranguing; and experience had shown that their voices had frequently more weight in popular assemblies than the power of the laws [z]. It was necessary to guard against their eloquence, and integrity of character was deemed a sufficient security against abuses in the exercise of their talents. It was ordained, that no orator should be permitted to intermeddle in public affairs, until his moral conduct had undergone a careful scrutiny; and every citizen was allowed to proceed judicially against the orator who should have found the secret of concealing the irregularity of his manners from the severity of this inquiry [a].

After providing for the mode in which the supreme power was to make known its will, magistrates must be chosen to carry that will into execution. In whom resides the power of conferring the offices of magistracy? On what persons; how; and for what time; with what restrictions must they be conferred? On all these points, the institutions of Solon appear conformable to the true spirit of a wise democracy.

The functions of the magistracy, in this government, are so important, that the nomination to offices can only be vested in the sovereign power. Did not the people possess, as far as practicable, the right of disposing of them, and of keeping a vigilant eye over the manner in which they are exer-

[y] Æschin. in Timarc. p. 264.
[z] Plut. in Conv. t. ii. p. 154.
[a] Æschin. ibid. Harpocr. et Suidas, in βουλ. γραφ.

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cised, they would be enslaved, and consequently become enemies of the state [b]. Solon left, therefore, to the general assembly the power of choosing the magistrates, and that of requiring from them an account of their administration [c].

In the Grecian democracies in general, every citizen, even the poorest, may aspire to the magistracy [d]. But Solon thought it more prudent to leave this privilege in the hands of the rich, who had hitherto possessed it [e]. He distributed the citizens of Attica into four classes. They were enrolled in the first, second, and third of these classes, accordingly as they received from their respective patrimonies, five, three, or two hundred measures of corn or oil. The other citizens, for the most part poor and ignorant, were comprised in the fourth, and removed from all political employments [f]. Had they possessed the hope of attaining these offices, they would have been less respectable in their eyes; had they in fact attained them, what could have been expected from such magistrates [g]?

It is essential to a democracy, that the offices of the magistracy should be granted only for a time, and that those at least which require only a certain degree of capacity should be left to the disposal of fortune [h]. Solon ordered, therefore, that all offices should be annual; that the principal dignities should, as heretofore, be conferred by the election of the people [i]; and that the others should be drawn for by lot [k].

In fine, the nine chief magistrates, presiding, in quality of archons, in the tribunals before which the causes of individuals were tried, it was to be feared lest their power might give them too much influence over the multitude. Solon determined that appeals might lie from their sentence to the superior courts [l].

b Arist. de Repub. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
c Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 350; lib. 6. c. 4. p. 416.
d Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 399; lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
e Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 336.
f Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
g Arist. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 350.
h Arist. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
i Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12.
k Æschin. in Tim. p. 63.
l Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

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It now remained to fill the courts of juſtice. We have ſeen that the laſt and moſt numerous claſs of citizens were excluded from any ſhare in the magiſtracy. Such an excluſion, always humiliating in a popular ſtate, would have been infinitely dangerous [m], if the citizens who laboured under this incapacity had not received ſome indemnification, and if they had ſeen the diſcuſſion of their intereſts and rights excluſively poſſeſſed by the rich. Solon ordained that all, without diſtinction, might become candidates to fill the place of judges, and that chance ſhould be the arbiter between them [n].

To render durable theſe regulations, eſſential to the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equilibrium between the different claſſes of citizens, it was neceſſary to confide their conſervation to a body of men, whoſe places ſhould be for life, who ſhould have no part in the adminiſtration, and who might impreſs on the minds of the people a profound reſpect for their wiſdom. Athens poſſeſſed in the areopagus a tribunal which attracted the confidence and love of nations, by its knowledge and integrity [o]. Solon having intruſted to its vigilance the maintenance of the laws and of morals, eſtabliſhed it as a ſuperior power, whoſe duty it was inceſſantly to recal the people to the principles of the conſtitution, and individuals to the rules of duty and decorum. Still more to increaſe the public veneration for this tribunal, and to render it thoroughly acquainted with the intereſts of the republic, he enacted, that the archons, on going out of office, ſhould, after a ſevere examination, be enrolled in the number of ſenators.

Thus did the ſenate of the areopagus, and that of the four hundred, become two counterpoiſes ſufficiently powerful to ſecure the republic againſt the ſtorms from which all ſtates are inceſſantly in danger [p]; the former, by repreſſing the en-

[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 11. t. ii. p. 350.
[n] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 336. Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832.
[o] Meurſ. Areop. c. 4.
[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88.

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terprifes of the rich by its general cenfure; and the latter, by reftraining by its decrees and its prefence the exceffes of the multitude.

New laws were enacted in fupport of thefe regulations. The conftitution might be attacked either by the general factions which had fo long agitated the different orders of the ftate, or by the ambition and intrigues of certain individuals.

To guard againft thefe dangers, Solon denounced punifhments againft thofe citizens who, in time of public commotion, refufed openly to declare for one of the parties [q]. His view, in this admirable inftitution, was to roufe men of merit and integrity from a ftate of fatal inactivity; to oppofe them to the factious, and fave the republic by the courage and afcendency of virtue.

By a fecond law, every citizen convicted of having attempted to make himfelf mafter of the fovereign authority, was condemned to death [r].

Laftly, In the cafe of an attempt to erect another government on the ruins of the popular form, this wife legiflator could imagine but one method to reanimate the nation, and that was, by obliging the magiftrates to refign their employments; and hence this ftern and menacing decree: It fhall be lawful for every citizen, not only to put to death a tyrant and his accomplices, but any magiftrate who fhall continue to exercife his functions after the deftruction of the democracy [s].

Such is the epitome of the republic of Solon. I fhall now take a curfory view of his civil and criminal laws with the fame rapidity. I have already faid, that thofe of Draco refpecting homicide were retained without the fmalleft alteration. Solon abolifhed all the others, or rather contented himfelf with mitigating their rigour [t], new modelling them with

[q] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 89. Aul. Gell. lib 2. c. 12.
[r] Id. t. i. p. 110.
[s] Andoc. de Myfter. p. 13.
[t] Lyf. ap. Laert. in Solon. § 55.

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his own, and adapting them to the genius of the Athenians.

His object in all was the general welfare of the republic, rather than the benefit of individuals [u]. Thus, according to his principles, which were perfectly conformable to those of the most enlightened philosophers, the citizen is to be considered in his person as forming part of the state [x]; in the greater part of the obligations he contracts, as appertaining to a family, which itself appertains to the state [y]; and in his conduct, as the member of a society, whose morals constitute the power of that state.

Under the former of these aspects, a citizen may demand satisfactory reparation for an outrage on his person: but if he be in extreme indigence, how may he be able to deposit the sum required to be advanced by the accuser? He is exempted from it by the laws [z]. But if born in an obscure condition, who shall secure him against the attacks of the rich and powerful man? All the true friends of the democracy, all those whom probity, interest, jealousy, or revenge have made the enemies of the aggressor; all are authorised to prosecute by this admirable law. "If any one shall insult a child, a woman, a free man, or a slave, let it be lawful for any Athenian to prosecute him [a]." The accusation will thus become public, and an offence committed against the lowest citizen be punished as a crime against the state; and this is founded on the following principle: Force is the lot of some, law the support of all [b]. This again is founded on the maxim of Solon: That there would be no acts of injustice in a city, were all the citizens to consider themselves as directly attacked as those who suffer the injury [c].

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[u] Demosth. in Androt. p. 703.
[x] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 450.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 923.
[z] Isocr. in Loch. t. ii. p. 547.
[a] Demosth. in Mid. p. 610. Isocr. in Loch. p. 548. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[b] Demosth. ibid.
[c] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 247. et 268.

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The liberty of the citizen is so precious, that its exercise is to be suspended by the laws alone; that he cannot himself engage it for debt, or on any pretext whatever[d], nor has he the right of disposing of that of his sons. The legislator allows him to sell his daughter, or sister, but in the single instance of witnessing their dishonour*, when charged with the superintendance of their conduct[e].

When an Athenian is guilty of self-murder, he is culpable towards the state, which he deprives of a citizen[f]. His hand is separately interred as a stigma on his memory[g]. But should he be the murderer of his father, what punishment shall the laws prescribe? They are silent concerning this atrocious crime. To inspire more horror for it, Solon has supposed such a degeneracy of nature absolutely impossible[h].

The liberty of a citizen would be imperfect, could his honour be attacked with impunity. Hence the penalties denounced against calumniators, and the permission to prosecute them[i]; hence too, the prohibition against sullying the memory of a man who is no more[k]. Independent of the sage policy there is in not perpetuating the hatreds between families, it is unjust that a man after death should be exposed to insults he would have repelled during his lifetime.

A citizen is not the master of his honour, since he is not of his life. Hence those laws which, in various circumstances, deprive the man who forfeits his honour of the privileges appertaining to the citizen.

In other countries, the citizens of the lower classes are so dismayed at the obscurity of their condition, the influence of their adversaries, the prolixity of legal procedures, and the dangers to which they may be exposed by them, that they often find it better for them to endure, than to endeavour to

d Plut in Solon. p. 86.

* See note III. at the end of the volume.

e Ibid. p 91.

f Arist. de Mor. lib. 5. c. 15. t. ii. p. 73.

g Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 467. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 522.

h Cicer. in Rosc. c. 25. t. iv. p. 72. Laert. in Solon. § 59.

i Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 535.

k Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

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defend themſelves againſt oppreſſion. The laws of Solon preſent ſeveral remedies againſt violence or injuſtice. Is the matter in queſtion a robbery, for inſtance[l]; you may yourſelf drag the criminal before the eleven magiſtrates appointed for the guard of the priſons. They will put him in irons, and then bring him before the tribunal, which will condemn you to a penalty if the crime be not proved. Are you not ſtrong enough to ſeize the criminal; apply to the archons, who will have him dragged to priſon by their lictors. Would you adopt another method; accuſe him publicly. Are you afraid of not being able ſatisfactorily to ſupport this accuſation, and of being ſentenced to pay the penalty of one thouſand drachmas; lodge an information before the tribunal of the arbiters; the cauſe will be converted into a civil action, and you will incur no riſk. Thus has Solon multiplied the powers of each individual, and there is no ſpecies of oppreſſion or injury over which it is not eaſy to triumph.

The greater part of the crimes which attack the ſecurity of the citizen may be proſecuted by a public or private accuſation. In the former caſe, the offended perſon conſiders himſelf only as a ſimple individual, and confines his demands to a reparation proportionate to his particular injuries: in the latter, he preſents himſelf in the quality of citizen, and the crime becomes more ſerious. Solon has facilitated public accuſations, becauſe they are more neceſſary in a democracy, than under any other form of government[m]. But for this formidable check, the general liberty would be perpetually endangered by the liberty of each individual.

Let us now ſee what are the duties of the citizen, in the generality of the obligations he contracts.

In a well regulated republic, the number of inhabitants ſhould neither be too great nor too inconſiderable[n]. Expe-

[l] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 703.
[m] Machiavel. Diſcorſ. ſopra la prima Decad. di Liv. lib. 1. cap. 7 et 8.
[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 423. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 430.

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rience has ſhown, that the number of men able to bear arms ought neither greatly to ſurpaſs, nor fall much ſhort of twenty thouſand [o].

To preſerve this juſt proportion, Solon, amongſt other means, does not permit ſtrangers to be naturalized but on conditions difficult to be complied with [p]: on the other hand, to prevent the extinction of families, he wills that their chiefs ſhould be repreſented after their death by legitimate or adopted children; and in the caſe of an individual dying without iſſue, he ordains that one of his natural heirs ſhall be juridically ſubſtituted for the deceaſed citizen, aſſume his name, and perpetuate his family [q].

The magiſtrate whoſe office it is to prevent families from remaining without heads, is likewiſe to extend his care and the protection of the laws to orphans; to women who declare their pregnancy after the death of their huſbands; and to girls who, having no brothers, are entitled to claim the inheritance of their anceſtors [r].

Does a citizen adopt a child; the latter may one day return to his paternal houſe; but he muſt leave in the family that adopted him, a ſon to accompliſh the views of his original adoption; and this ſon, in his turn, may quit this family, after leaving a natural or adopted ſon as his ſubſtitute [s]. Theſe precautions were not ſufficient. The chain of generations might be interrupted by diviſions and animoſities between the huſband and wife. Divorces ſhall be permitted, but on conditions which ſhall reſtrain their frequency [t]. If it be the huſband who demands the ſeparation, he expoſes himſelf to reſtore to his wife her dowry, or at leaſt to pay her an alimentary penſion ſettled by the law [u]: if it be the

[o] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Dem. in Ariſtog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philoch. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 716.

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 91.

[q] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1047.

[r] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040.

[s] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1045.

[t] Pet. in Leg. Attic. p. 459.

[u] Demoſth. in Near. p. 869.

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wife, she must herself appear before the judges, and present her request [x].

It is essential in a democracy, not only that families should be preserved, but that estates should not be in the hands of a small number of individuals [y]. When they are distributed in a certain proportion, the people, possessed of a few trifling parcels of land, are more occupied with them than with the dissensions of the forum. Hence the prohibitions of some legislators against selling the family possessions, except in cases of extreme necessity [z], or of mortgaging them to procure resources against want [a]. The violation of this principle has sometimes served to overthrow the constitution [b].

Of this principle Solon never has lost sight: he has prescribed limits to the acquisitions which may be made by individuals [c]; and he has deprived that citizen of part of his rights who has foolishly wasted the inheritance of his fathers [d].

An Athenian who has children can only dispose of his property in their favour; if he has none, and dies intestate, the succession descends in a right line to those who are nearest of kin [e]: if he leaves an only daughter heiress of his fortune, it is the duty of the nearest relation to espouse her [f]; but he must demand her in form of law, that no person hereafter may dispute with him the possession. These rights of the next of kin are so clearly recognized, that should one of his female relations, previously married to an Athenian, succeed to the estate of her father, dead without male issue, he is entitled to annul the marriage, and compel her to espouse him [g].

But if this husband be not in a condition to have children, he will transgress the law which watches over the perpetua-

[x] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p 195.
[y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 375.
[z] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 323.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 417.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 388.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 323.
[d] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[e] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1035.
[f] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 441.
[g] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 444. Herald. Animad. in Salmas. lib. 3. cap. 15.

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tion of families, and offend against that which preſerves their property. To puniſh him for this double infraction, Solon permits the wife to beſtow herſelf on the neareſt relation of the huſband [h].

It is with the ſame view that an orphan, the only or the eldeſt daughter of her father, may, if ſhe have no fortune, oblige her neareſt relation to marry, or provide her with a dower: if he refuſes, the orphan will compel him, under penalty of a fine of one thouſand drachmas [i]. It is from the conſequences of theſe principles likewiſe, that the natural heir is, on the one hand, incapable of being guardian, and the guardian of eſpouſing the mother of his wards [k]; and that, on the other hand, a brother may marry his half ſiſter by the father, but not his uterine ſiſter [l]. And in fact it would be to be apprehended that an intereſted guardian, or an unnatural mother, might turn to their advantage the property of their wards; their would be ground to fear leſt a brother, by leaguing with his uterine ſiſter, ſhould accumulate in his own perſon both the inheritance of his father and that of the firſt huſband of his mother [m].

All the regulations of Solon reſpecting ſucceſſions, teſtaments, and donations, are dictated by the ſame ſpirit. We muſt not, however, overlook that which allows a citizen dying without children, to diſpoſe of his property at pleaſure. Some philoſophers have exclaimed, and many perhaps will ſtill exclaim, againſt a law which appears ſo contrary to the principles of the legiſlator [n]. Others juſtify him both by the reſtrictions with which he has clogged the law, and the object he had in view: for he requires that the teſtator ſhall neither be enfeebled by age or ſickneſs; that he ſhall not have yielded to the ſeductions of a wife; that he ſhall not be in

h Plut. in Solon. p. 89.
i Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1036.
k Laert. in Solon. § 56.
l Cornel. Nep. in Præf. Id. in Cim. Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 128; in Cimon. p. 480. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 440.
m Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.
n Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 922. Eſpr. des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.

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bonds, nor have given any ſymptoms of alienation of mind [o]. With all theſe precautions, what reaſon can there be to fear he ſhould chooſe an heir from any other family, if he has no cauſe to complain of his own? It was with a view, therefore, of exciting reſpect and attention among relations [p], that Solon granted the citizens a permiſſion they had never before poſſeſſed, which they received with applauſe [q], and is not naturally liable to abuſe. It muſt be added, that an Athenian who called in a ſtranger to his inheritance, at the ſame time adopted him [r].

The Egyptians have a law, by which each individual muſt give an account of his fortune, and the means by which he procures a maintenance [s]. This law is ſtill more uſeful in a democracy, where the people ſhould be neither unemployed, nor gain their livelihood by illicit means [t]: and ſtill more is it neceſſary in a country, where the ſterility of the ſoil can only be compenſated by labour and induſtry [u].

Hence, the regulations by which Solon ſtigmatizes idleneſs with infamy [x], and directs the areopagus to inquire into the mode by which individuals provide for their ſubſiſtence; allows them to exerciſe all the mechanic arts, and deprives the man who neglects to educate his ſon to ſome profeſſion, of the aid he ſhould expect from him in his old age [y].

It only remains to mention a few of his regulations relative to the morals of the people.

Solon, after the example of Draco, enacted a number of laws relative to the duties of the citizens, and particularly the education of youth [z]. In them he has foreſeen and provided for every thing, both the preciſe age at which children ſhould receive public leſſons, and the characters and talents of the

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[o] Demoſth. in Steph. 2. p. 984.
[p] Id. in Lept. p. 556.
[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[r] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 479.
[s] Herod. lib. 2. cap. 177. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 70
[t] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4 Eſpr. des Lois, lib. 5. chap. 6.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[x] Laert. in Solon. § 55. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6 et cap. 42. Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 887.
[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[z] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 261.

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maſters who are to inſtruct them, the preceptors who are to attend them, and the hours of opening and ſhutting the ſchools; and as theſe places ſhould admit nothing that may taint innocence: Let every man, adds he, be puniſhed with death, who ſhall dare to introduce himſelf without neceſſity into the ſanctuary where the children are aſſembled, and let one of the courts of juſtice ſuperintend the obſervance of theſe regulations [a].

At the expiration of infancy, they ſhall be removed to the gymnaſium. There the laws ſhall ſtill watch over them, to preſerve the purity of their manners, to guard them againſt the contagion of example, and the dangers of ſeduction.

In the various periods of their lives, new paſſions will ſucceed rapidly in their hearts. The legiſlator has multiplied menaces and puniſhments; he aſſigns recompences to virtue, and diſhonour to vice [b].

Thus, the children of thoſe who ſhall die fighting for their country, are to be educated at the public expence [c]; and crowns are to be ſolemnly decreed to thoſe who have rendered ſervices to the ſtate.

On the other hand, the citizen become notorious for depravity of manners, whatever be his condition, or whatever talents he poſſeſſes, ſhall be excluded from the prieſthood, the magiſtracy, the ſenate, and general aſſembly; he ſhall neither be allowed to ſpeak in public, nor undertake an embaſſy, nor have a ſeat in the tribunals of juſtice; and ſhould he exerciſe any of thoſe functions, he ſhall be criminally proſecuted, and ſuffer the rigorous puniſhments preſcribed by law [d].

Cowardice, under whatever form it appears, whether by refuſing military ſervice, or by betraying it by ſome unworthy action, cannot be palliated by the rank of the offender, nor under any pretext: it ſhall be puniſhed not only by general

[a] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 261.
[b] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 564.
[c] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 263.

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contempt, but by a public accusation, which will teach the citizen still more to dread the disgrace inflicted by the law than the sword of the enemy [e].

The laws have prohibited every kind of studied refinement and delicacy among the men [f], and restrain the women, who have such influence on manners, within the bounds of modesty [g]; they oblige a son to maintain, in their old age, the authors of his being [h]. But children born of a courtezan are exempted from this obligation towards their father, since they, in fact, owe to him nothing but the opprobrium of their birth [i].

To maintain these manners, there must be examples; and these examples must proceed from those who are at the head of government. The greater the height from which they descend, the more deep and lasting is their impression. The corruption of the meaner citizens is easily repressed, and extends its progress only in obscurity; for corruption never ascends from the lower classes to the higher: but when it is daring enough to take possession of the seat of power, it precipitates itself from thence with more force than the laws themselves can exert; it has accordingly been boldly advanced, that the manners of a nation depend solely on those of the sovereign [k].

Solon was persuaded that no less decency and sanctity were necessary in the administration of a democracy, than in the ministry of the altars. Hence, those examinations, those oaths, those accounts of their conduct he exacts from persons who either are, or have been, invested with power; hence, his maxim, that justice should be slowly exercised on the faults of individuals, but at the very instant on men in office [l]; hence, that terrible law which condemns to death the archon who,

[e] Id. in Ctesiph. p. 456.
[f] Athen. lib. 15. p. 687.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[h] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[i] Plut. ibid.
[k] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 168.
[l] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 845.

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after losing his reason in the pleasures of the table, should dare to appear in public with the ensigns of his dignity [m].

In fine, if we consider that the censure of morals was intrusted to a tribunal, the austerity of whose conduct constituted the severest of censures, we shall readily conceive that Solon considered the preservation of morals as the firmest support of his legislation.

Such was the general system of Solon. His civil and criminal laws have always been regarded as oracles by the Athenians, and as models by other nations. Several of the Grecian states have considered it as a duty to adopt them [n]; and from the farthest part of Italy, the Romans, wearied with their divisions, have called them in to their assistance [o]. As circumstances may oblige a state to modify some of its laws, I shall speak elsewhere of the precautions taken by Solon to introduce the necessary changes, and to avoid such as might prove dangerous.

The form of government he established, differs essentially from that now in use at Athens. Must we attribute this prodigious change to vices inherent in the constitution itself? or is it to be ascribed to events impossible to be foreseen? I shall venture, from information received in my intercourse with several enlightened Athenians, to hazard a few reflections on so important a subject: but this slight discussion must be preceded by the history of the revolutions which have happened in the state, from the days of Solon to the invasion of the Persians.

The laws of Solon were to continue in force only for a century. He had fixed this period to prevent the Athenians from murmuring at the prospect of an eternal yoke. After the senators, the archons, and the people, had sworn to maintain them, they were inscribed on the different faces of several

[m] Isaert. in Solon. § 57. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 240.

[n] Demosth. in Tim. p. 805.

[o] Liv. lib. 3. cap. 31. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xii. p. 42.

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tablets of wood, which at first were depoſited in the citadel. They reached from the ground to the roof of the edifice that contained them [p]; and being eaſily turned round, ſucceſſively preſented the whole code of laws to the eyes of the ſpectators. They have ſince been removed to the prytaneum, and other places, where individuals are allowed free acceſs to conſult theſe precious charters of their liberty [q].

When time had been given to conſider and make trial of theſe laws, Solon was ſurrounded by a crowd of importunate citizens, who overwhelmed him with queſtions, advices, commendations, or reproaches. Some preſſed him for an explanation of particular laws, capable, according to them, of different interpretations; others propoſed a variety of things to be added, modified, or ſuppreſſed. Solon having exhauſted his patience, and tried every conciliatory method in vain, was ſenſible that time alone could perfect and give ſtrength to his work; he therefore departed, after requeſting permiſſion to abſent himſelf for ten years [r], and binding the Athenians by a ſolemn oath, not to make any alteration in his laws during his abſence [s].

In Egypt he converſed with thoſe prieſts, who imagine they have in their poſſeſſion the annals of the world; and as he was one day explaining to them the ancient traditions of Greece: "Solon, Solon," ſaid one of the prieſts gravely, "you Greeks are but very young; time has not yet made your knowledge hoary [t]." In Crete, he had the honour to inſtruct the ſovereign of a little diſtrict in the art of government, and to give his name to a city to the happineſs of which he had been inſtrumental [u].

At his return, he found the Athenians ready to ſink again into anarchy [x]. The three parties, which had ſo long rent the republic, ſeemed to have ſuſpended their hatred during his

[p] Etym. Magn. in Axon.
[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 92. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 12. Poll. l. 8. c. 10. No. 128. Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 1. cap. 22. Pet. in Præf. Leg. Att.
[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 92.
[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 29.
[t] Plat. in Crit. t. iii p. 22.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 93.
[x] Id. p. 94.

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legiſlation, only to vent it with more violence in his abſence; in one point alone were they united; in deſiring a change in the conſtitution, without any other motive but a ſecret reſtleſſneſs, or any object but vague hopes.

Solon, received with the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, wiſhed to avail himſelf of theſe favourable diſpoſitions to calm diſſenſions too frequently reviving: at firſt he thought himſelf powerfully ſeconded by Piſiſtratus, who was at the head of the popular faction; and who, apparently eager to maintain equality among the citizens, declared himſelf an irreconcileable enemy to every innovation which might tend to its deſtruction: but he ſoon diſcovered that this profound politician concealed the moſt inordinate ambition under the maſk of an affected moderation.

Never did man unite more qualities to captivate the minds of the people. He was of an illuſtrious birth [y], and poſſeſſed of great wealth, acknowledged courage [z], a commanding figure [a], a perſuaſive eloquence [b], to which the muſical tone of his voice lent new charms [c]; and a mind enriched with the talents beſtowed by nature, and the information procured by ſtudy [d]. No man was a greater maſter of his paſſions, or knew better how to turn to advantage thoſe virtues he really poſſeſſed, and thoſe of which he had only the appearance [e]. His ſucceſs has proved, that in projects of tedious execution nothing can beſtow a more decided ſuperiority than mildneſs and flexibility of character.

With ſuch eminent advantages, Piſiſtratus, acceſſible to the loweſt citizens, laviſhed on them thoſe conſolations and ſuccours which dry up the ſource, or palliate the bitterneſs, of ſuffering [f]. Solon, attentive to his proceedings, penetrated his intentions; but, whilſt he was employed in deviſing means to guard againſt their conſequences, Piſiſtratus appeared in

y Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 65.
z Id. lib. 1. cap. 59.
a Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.
b Plut. in Solon. p. 75. Cicer. in Brut. cap. 7. t. i. p. 342.
c Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.
d Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312.
e Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
f Plut. ibid.

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the forum, covered with wounds he had artfully procured, imploring the protection of that people he had himself so frequently protected [g]. The assembly being immediately convoked, he accused the senate and the chiefs of the other factions of attempting his life; and displaying his still bleeding wounds: "Behold," exclaimed he, "the reward of my love for the democracy, and of the zeal with which I have defended your rights [h]."

At these words only menacing exclamations were heard on all sides; the principal citizens kept silence in astonishment, or took to flight. Solon, filled with indignation at their cowardice, and the infatuation of the people, in vain attempted to re-animate the courage of the former, and to dispel the frenzy of the latter [i]: his voice, enfeebled by years, was easily overpowered by the clamours excited by pity, rage, and apprehension. The assembly concluded by voting Pisistratus a strong guard for the defence of his person. From this moment all his projects were accomplished: he presently employed this force to take possession of the citadel [k]; and, after disarming the multitude, seized without opposition on the supreme authority *.

Solon did not long survive the enslaving of his country: he had opposed as much as was in his power, the enterprises of Pisistratus. He was seen, with arms, repairing to the forum, and endeavouring to excite the people to defend their liberties [l]: but his example and harangues no longer produced any effect; his friends alone, terrified at his courage, represented to him, that the tyrant was resolved on his destruction; "and what," added they, "can inspire you with such firmness?" "My old age," replied he [m].

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[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 518. Diod. Sicul. lib. 13. p. 215. Laert. in Solon. &c.

[h] Justin. lib. 2. c. 8. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

* The year 560 before Christ.

[l] Plut. ibid. Laert. in Solon. § 49. Val. Maxim. lib. 5. c. 3. No. 3.

[m] Plut. ibid. Cicer. de Senect. cap. 20. t. iii. p. 317.

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Pisistratus was far from sullying his triumph by an act so atrocious and so odious. Penetrated with the highest veneration for Solon, he felt that the sanction of that legislator alone would in some measure excuse his usurpation: he courted him by distinguished marks of deference and respect; he asked his advice; and Solon, yielding to seduction, while he imagined he only gave way to necessity, was soon prevailed upon to assist him with his counsel [n]; flattering himself, no doubt, with the hope of inducing Pisistratus to maintain the laws, and to make fewer encroachments on the established constitution.

Thirty-three years elapsed between the revolution and the death of Pisistratus *, but he continued at the head of affairs only seventeen years [o]. Overpowered by the superior strength of his adversaries, and twice obliged to fly from Athens, he twice resumed his authority [p], and had the consolation, before he died, of securing it to his family.

During the whole of his government, his days, dedicated to the service of the public, were continually distinguished either by new benefits or new virtues.

His laws, by banishing idleness, encouraged agriculture and industry: he distributed over the country that multitude of obscure citizens, whom the heat of factions had settled in the capital [q]; he revived the valour of the troops, by assigning to invalid soldiers a certain subsistence for the remainder of their lives [r]. In the country, in the forum, in his gardens, accessible to every person [s], he appeared like a father amidst his children: ever ready to listen to the complaints of the unfortunate; making pecuniary allowances to some, advances to others, and offers to all [t].

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[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

* The year 528 before Christ.

[o] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 8. Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 411.

[p] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 64. Arist. ibid.

[q] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 7. p. 120; orat. 25. p. 281. Hesych. et Suid. in Κατων.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[s] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.

[t] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 25.

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With a view of gratifying his taste for magnificence, at the same time that he complied with the necessity of giving employment to an untractable and idle people [u], he embellished the city with temples, gymnasia, and fountains [x]; and as he did not dread the progress of knowledge, he published a new edition of the works of Homer, and founded a library, composed of the best authors then extant, for the use of the Athenians.

Let us add here a few anecdotes which more particularly evince the greatness of his mind. Never had he the weakness to revenge insults which it was easy for him to punish.

While his daughter was attending a religious ceremony, a young man who was passionately in love with her, ran to embrace her, and some time after attempted to carry her off. Pisistratus, when advised by his family to take vengeance, replied: "If we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?" and immediately chose this young man to be the husband of his daughter [y].

Some drunken persons publicly insulted his wife; the next day they came to him in tears, to solicit a pardon they could scarcely dare to hope. "You are mistaken," replied Pisistratus; "my wife did not stir out yesterday the whole day [z]." To conclude, some of his adherents, resolving to withdraw from their obedience to him, retired to a strong hold. He instantly followed them, with some slaves carrying his baggage; and when the conspirators inquired of him his intention: "You must either persuade me to remain with you," said he, "or I must prevail on you to return with me [a]."

These acts of moderation and clemency, frequently repeated during his life, and rendered more conspicuous by the wisdom of his government, insensibly mitigated the refractory

[u] Arist. de Repub. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.
[x] Meurs. in Pisistr. cap. 9.
[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 189. Poly. Strat. lib. 5. cap. 14. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 1.
[z] Plut. ibid.
[a] Plut. ibid.

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ſpirit of the Athenians, and made many of them prefer ſo mild a ſervitude to their ancient and tumultuous liberty [b].

Yet it muſt be owned, that though in a monarchy Piſiſtratus would have been the model of the beſt of kings, in the republic of Athens, the citizens in general were more diſpoſed to regard with abhorrence the crime of his uſurpation, than to conſider all the advantages derived from his government to the ſtate.

After his death, his ſons Hippias and Hipparchus ſucceeded him, and, with leſs brilliant talents, governed with the ſame wiſdom [c]. Hipparchus, in particular, was fond of letters. Anacreon and Simonides, invited to his court, met with the moſt flattering reception: the firſt was loaded with honours, and the ſecond with preſents. He deſerves alſo to participate with his father in the glory of extending the fame of Homer [d]. He may be reproached, as well as his brother, with too freely abandoning himſelf to pleaſures, and with inſpiring the Athenians with a taſte for luxury [e]: fortunate, nevertheleſs, if, in the midſt of theſe exceſſes, he had not committed an act of injuſtice, of which he was the firſt victim!

Two young Athenians, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, united in bonds of the tendereſt friendſhip, having received from this prince an affront it was impoſſible to forget, conſpired his deſtruction, and that of his brother [f]. Some of their friends entered into this conſpiracy, and its execution was fixed for the ſolemnity of the Panathenæa: they hoped that the crowd of Athenians, who, during the ceremonies of this feſtival, were permitted to bear arms, would ſecond their efforts, or at leaſt protect them againſt the fury of the guards who attended on the ſons of Piſiſtratus.

With this view, after covering their poniards with branches of myrtle, they repaired to the place where the princes were

[b] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 62.
[c] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 54.
[d] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 228.
[e] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.
[f] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 56. Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 406; et alii.

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arranging a proceſſion they were to precede to the temple of Minerva. When they arrived, they ſaw one of the conſpirators in familiar converſation with Hippias; and concluded themſelves betrayed; but reſolving dearly to ſell their lives, retired for a moment, and finding Hipparchus, plunged a dagger in his heart *. Harmodius inſtantly fell beneath the redoubled blows of the princes guards. Ariſtogiton, ſeized almoſt at the ſame inſtant, was put to the torture; but far from naming his accomplices, he accuſed the moſt faithful partiſans of Hippias, who ordered them to be dragged to inſtant puniſhment. "Haſt thou ſtill other wretches to diſcover?" exclaimed the tyrant, tranſported with fury. "There are none left but thee," replies the Athenian: "I die, and enjoy in death the ſatisfaction of having deprived thee of thy beſt friends [g]."

From that moment, Hippias abandoned himſelf to the perpetration of every kind of injuſtice [h]; but the yoke he laid heavy on the Athenians was broken three years after †. Cliſthenes, chief of the Alcmæonidæ, a powerful houſe of Athens, at all times inimical to the family of Piſiſtratus, collected all the malecontents about his perſon; and having obtained the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, by means of the Pythia of Delphi, whom he had gained over to his intereſt [i], marched againſt Hippias, and forced him to abdicate the tyranny. That prince, after wandering for ſome time with his family, repaired to the court of Darius, king of Perſia, and was at laſt killed at the battle of Marathon [k].

No ſooner had the Athenians recovered their liberty, than they rendered the higheſt honours to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Statues were erected to them in the forum [l]: it was enacted, that their names ſhould be for ever

* The year 514 before Chriſt.

† The year 510 before Chriſt.

g Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 22. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 2. cap. 23. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 9.

h Thucydid lib. 6. cap 59. Ariſt Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 53.

i Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 62 et 66.

k Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 107. Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 59.

l Ariſt. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 533. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 639. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. p. 654.

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celebrated at the festival of the Panathenæa [m], and should, on no pretext whatever, be given to slaves [n]. The poets eternized their glory by poems and songs *, still sung at banquets [o]; and very extensive privileges were granted in perpetuity to their descendants [p].

Clisthenes, who had so greatly contributed to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, had still to struggle for many years against a powerful faction [q]; but at length, obtaining in the state the authority to which he was entitled by his great talents, he confirmed the constitution established by Solon, which the Pisistratidæ had never attempted entirely to subvert.

Never had these princes, in fact, assumed the title of king, though they boasted themselves to be the descendants of the ancient sovereigns of Athens [r]. If Pisistratus levied the tenth of the produce of the lands [s], it was the only tax he imposed, and this his sons reduced to a twentieth; all the three appeared to exact it less for their own maintenance, than for the necessities of the state [t]: they maintained the laws of Solon as much by their example as by their authority. Pisistratus, accused of murder, appeared, like the lowest citizen, to take his trial before the areopagus [u]. In a word, they preserved the essential parts of the ancient constitution [x]; the senate, the assemblies of the people, and the offices of magistracy, with which they were careful to invest themselves [y], and whose prerogatives they laboured to extend. It was as chief magistrates, therefore, as perpetual chiefs of a democratic state, that they acted, and acquired so much influence over

[m] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 344. Philostr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 283.

[n] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 2.

* See note IV. at the end of the volume.

[o] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1220. Id. in Acharn. v. 977. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 14. p. 692.

[p] Isæus de Hered. Dicæog. p. 55. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 565. Dinarch. in Demosth. p. 186.

[q] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 66.

[r] Laert. in Solon. § 53. Reinecc. Hist. Jul. t. i. p. 465.

[s] Laert. ibid. Suid. in Sphacel.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

[u] Arist. de Rep. l. 5. c. 12. p. 481. Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59.

[y] Thucydid. ut suprà.

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the public deliberations. The moſt abſolute power was exerciſed under apparently legal forms, and the enſlaved people had perpetually before their eyes the image of liberty; accordingly, we ſee them, after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, without oppoſition, and without a ſtruggle, re-aſſuming their rights, which had been ſuſpended rather than deſtroyed. The changes now made by Cliſthenes in the government did not entirely bring it back to its firſt principles, as I ſhall preſently ſhow.

The recital of facts has conducted me to the times in which the Athenians ſignalized their valour againſt the Perſians. But before I proceed to this part of their hiſtory, I ſhall here give the reflections I have promiſed on the political ſyſtem of Solon.

We muſt not expect from Solon a legiſlation ſimilar to that of Lycurgus. Fortune had placed them in very different circumſtances.

The Lacedæmonians occupied a country producing every thing neceſſary for their wants [z]. The legiſlator had only to confine them to it, to prevent foreign vices from corrupting the ſpirit and purity of his inſtitutions. Athens, ſituated near the ſea, and ſurrounded by an ungrateful ſoil, was obliged continually to interchange her produce, her induſtry, her ideas and manners, with thoſe of different nations.

The reform of Lycurgus preceded that of Solon by about two centuries and a half. The Spartans, limited in their arts, their knowledge, and even in their paſſions, were leſs advanced in good and evil, than the Athenians were at the time of Solon. The latter, after having experienced all kinds of governments, were diſguſted both with ſervitude and liberty, without being able to diſpenſe with either. Induſtrious, enlightened, vain, and difficult to manage, all of them, even to the loweſt individuals, were familiarized with intrigue, ambition, and all the great paſſions that take birth in

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

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the frequent commotions of a ſtate: they already poſſeſſed the vices to be found amongſt formed nations. They were remarkable likewiſe for a reſtleſs activity, and a ficklenesſ of mind, which we meet with in no other country.

The houſe of Lycurgus had long inherited the throne of Lacedæmon: the two kings who then ſhared it, commanding no reſpect, Lycurgus appeared in the eyes of the Spartans as the firſt and moſt eminent perſon in the ſtate [a]. As he could rely on his own influence, and on that of his friends, he was leſs reſtrained by thoſe conſiderations which throw a damp on genius, and circumſcribe the views of a legiſlator. Solon, a private individual, inveſted with a tranſient authority, to be employed with prudence, if he wiſhed to employ it to effect; ſurrounded by powerful factions, which he was obliged to manage, in order to preſerve their confidence; and, forewarned by the recent example of Draco, that modes of ſeverity were not ſuited to the character of the Athenians, was unable to hazard great innovations, without occaſioning ſtill greater, and again plunging the ſtate into perhaps irreparable misfortunes.

I do not ſpeak of the perſonal qualities of the two legiſlators. Nothing reſembles leſs the genius of Lycurgus than the talents of Solon, nor the vigorous mind of the former than the mild and circumſpect character of the latter. There was nothing common to them both, but the ardour with which they laboured, though by different means, to procure the happineſs of nations. Should we ſuppoſe them to have changed places, Solon would not have effected things ſo great and ſublime as Lycurgus; we may doubt whether Lycurgus would have performed ſuch beautiful things as Solon.

The latter was ſenſible of the difficulty of his undertaking; and, when aſked whether he had given the Athenians the beſt of all laws, he anſwered, The beſt they were capable of bearing [b]. He thus painted with a ſingle ſtroke the un-

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 86.

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tractable character of the Athenians, and the fatal constraint under which he laboured.

Solon was obliged to prefer the popular form of government, because the people, recollecting that they had enjoyed it for several ages, would no longer submit to the tyranny of the rich [c], and because a nation which applies itself to maritime affairs always inclines strongly towards a democracy [d].

In adopting this form, he so tempered it, as to give the idea of an oligarchy in the body of the areopagites; of an aristocracy in the mode of electing magistrates; and of a pure democracy in the liberty granted the lowest citizens to have a seat in the tribunals of justice [e].

This constitution, which partook of the nature of mixed governments, was overthrown by the excess of power in the people, as that of the Persians was by the excess of power in the prince [f].

Solon is reproached with having accelerated this corruption, by the law which bestows indiscriminately on all the citizens the right of administering justice, and by appointing them to that important function by way of lot [g]. The consequences of such a privilege were not at first perceived [h]; but, in the end, every one was obliged to conciliate or implore the protection of the people, who, filling all the tribunals, possessed the power of interpreting the laws, and disposing at their pleasure of the lives and fortunes of the citizens.

In tracing out the sketch of the system of Solon, I have stated the motives that engaged him to enact the law complained of. I shall here add, 1st, that it is not only adopted, but of great utility in the best constituted democracies [i]; 2dly, that Solon never could presume that the people would abandon their labours for the sterile pleasure of deciding the differences of individuals. If they have since taken possession

[c] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 420.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 693 et 699.
[g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[i] Arist. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 416.

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of the tribunals, and thereby increaſed their authority, the blame muſt fall on Pericles, who, by aſſigning an emolument to thoſe who acted as judges [k], furniſhed the poorer citizens with a more eaſy method of ſubſiſtence.

It is not in the laws of Solon that we muſt ſearch for the origin of thoſe vices that have diſfigured his work; but in a ſeries of innovations, for the moſt part unneceſſary, and which it was as impoſſible to foreſee, as it would be at this day to juſtify.

After the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, Cliſthenes, to gain the favour of the people, divided into ten tribes the original four, which had compriſed the inhabitants of Attica from the days of Cecrops [l]; and fifty ſenators were annually elected by lot from each of them, by which means the number of theſe magiſtrates was increaſed to five hundred.

Theſe ten tribes had each their preſidents, their officers of police, their tribunals, their aſſemblies, and ſeparate intereſts, like ſo many little republics. To multiply theſe, and give them more activity, was to engage all the citizens, without diſtinction, to intermeddle in public affairs; it was favouring the people, who, beſides the right of naming their officers, had the greateſt influence in each tribe.

Another conſequence was, that the various companies intruſted with the collection and application of the public money, were compoſed of ten officers named by the ten tribes, which, preſenting new objects of ambition to the people, ſerved to introduce them ſtill further into the different branches of the adminiſtration.

But it is principally to the victories gained by the Athenians over the Perſians, that we muſt attribute the deſtruction of the ancient conſtitution [m]. After the battle of Plataea, it was enacted, that the citizens of the loweſt claſſes, excluded by Solon from the chief offices of the magiſtracy, ſhould

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

[l] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 66 et 99. Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 418. Plut. in Per. p. 153.

[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

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henceforward possess that privilege. The sage Aristides, who proposed this decree [n], gave the most fatal of examples to his successors in command. It became necessary for them first to flatter, then servilely to crouch to the multitude.

Formerly they had disdained to attend at the general assemblies; but no sooner did government allow a gratuity of three oboli to every person present [o], than they repaired thither in crowds, keeping away the rich, as well by their numbers as their fury, and insolently substituting their caprices for the laws.

Pericles, the most dangerous of those leaders who paid court to the multitude, disgusted them with business, and their little remaining virtue, by largesses which exhausted the public treasury, and, amongst other advantages, facilitated their access to the public spectacles [p]; and, as if he had conspired the total overthrow of manners, in order to accelerate the downfal of the constitution, he reduced the areopagus to silence, by depriving that court of almost all its privileges [q].

The precautions which Solon had so wisely taken to guard the great interests of the state against the incongruous measures of an ignorant and mad populace, were then neglected, or had no effect. Let us recollect, that it was the duty of the senate to prepare all public business, previous to its being laid before the assembly of the people; that it was to be discussed only by orators of acknowledged probity, and the first suffrages given by aged men enlightened by experience. These checks, so well calculated to repress the impetuosity of the people, were all annulled by themselves [r]. They would no longer obey any but demagogues who led them astray [s], and extended so far the limits of their authority, that, ceasing to perceive them, they imagined that they had ceased to exist.

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[n] Plut. in Aristid. p. 332.
[o] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 205.
[p] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 155.
[r] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 427.
[s] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.

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Certain offices of magiſtracy, heretofore conferred only on upright men by free election, are now beſtowed by way of chance, on every claſs of citizens [t]: nay, frequently, without having recourſe to that, or any other mode of election, individuals find means, by dint of money and intrigues, to obtain employments, and even to procure admiſſion into the order of ſenators [u]. In fine, the people pronounce in the laſt reſort on ſeveral offences, the cognizance of which is either reſerved to them by the later decrees of Solon [x], or which they themſelves ſummon to their tribunal, in contempt of the ordinary courſe of juſtice [y]. By this means, the powers which had been ſo ſagely diſtributed are confounded; and the legiſlative power, executing its own laws, makes the nation every moment feel, or apprehend, the dreadful weight of oppreſſion.

Theſe deſtructive vices never would have crept into the conſtitution, had it not had inſurmountable obſtacles to overcome: but the uſurpation of the Piſiſtratidæ ſtopped its progreſs in the very origin; and its principles were ſoon after corrupted by the victories over the Perſians. To have enabled the conſtitution to defend itſelf againſt ſimilar events, it was neceſſary that a long peace, and the moſt perfect liberty, ſhould have allowed it to operate powerfully on the manners of the Athenians; without this, all the gifts of genius, united in a legiſlator, muſt have been inſufficient to prevent Piſiſtratus from being the moſt ſeducing of mankind, and the Athenians, the people the moſt open to ſeduction: they could not have prevented the brilliant ſucceſſes of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa, from inſpiring with the moſt extravagant preſumption the people in the world moſt ſuſceptible of ſuch folly.

From the effects produced by the inſtitutions of Solon, we may judge of thoſe they would have produced in happier cir-

[t] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 321.
[u] Æſchin. in Timar. p. 276. Id. in Crtſiph. p. 437.
[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450.
[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 369.

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cumſtances. Confined as they were in their operation under the tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ, they acted ſlowly on the minds of men, either from the advantages of an education common at that time, and which is ſo no longer [z]; or from the influence of the republican forms, which perpetually cheriſhed the illuſion, and the hope of liberty. Scarcely were thoſe princes baniſhed, before the democracy was re-eſtabliſhed of itſelf, and the Athenians diſplayed a character of which they had never hitherto been ſuſpected. From this epocha to that of their corruption, only about half a century elapſed; but virtue and the laws were ſtill reſpected in that happy period: the wiſeſt men never ſpeak of it but with eulogies, accompanied with regret; and can diſcover no other remedy for the evils of the ſtate, but the revival of the government of Solon [a].

SECT. II.

AGE OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES *.

It is with pain that I prevail on myſelf to deſcribe campaigns and battles; it ſhould ſuffice to know, that wars originate in the ambition of princes, and terminate in the miſery of nations: but the example of a people preferring death to ſervitude, is too ſublime, and too inſtructive to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Cyrus had lately raiſed the Perſian power on the ruins of the empires of Babylon and Lydia; he had received the homage of Arabia, of Egypt, and the moſt diſtant nations [b]; and his ſon Cambyſes had ſubjected Cyrenaica, and many countries of Africa [c].

After the death of the latter prince, ſome Perſian nobles, to the number of ſeven, having put to death one of the magi

[z] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8 cap. 1. t. ii. p. 449.

[a] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 319. Æſch. in Ctesiph. p. 427.

* From the year 490 to about 444 before Chriſt.

[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 2; lib. 8. p. 230.

[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 7, 13, &c.

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who had usurped the throne, assembled in order to settle the government of this extensive empire [d]. Othanes proposed to restore liberty, and establish a general democracy; Megabyzus extolled the advantages of aristocracy; Darius, son of Hystaspes, declared himself for the constitution which had hitherto secured the happiness and glory of the Persians: his opinion prevailed; and chance, to which it was agreed to submit the choice of a sovereign, deciding, by his artifices, in his favour, he found himself the undisturbed possessor of the most powerful empire in the world, and, after the example of the ancient monarchs of the Assyrians, assumed the title of the great king, and that of king of kings*.

Advanced to this exalted station, he still knew to respect the laws, discern merit, receive counsel, and acquire friends. Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, was the friend whom he loved with the most tenderness. Some person having taken the liberty to propose one day the following question to Darius, who held a pomegranate in his hand: "What good is there you would wish to multiply as often as that fruit contains seeds?" "Such friends as Zopyrus," replied the king, without hesitation [e]. This answer threw Zopyrus into one of those paroxysms of zeal, to be justified only by the sentiment that gives them birth †.

Darius had been besieging Babylon, which had revolted, during nineteen months [f], and was on the point of abandoning his enterprise, when Zopyrus appeared in his presence, without nose or ears, and with every part of his body mutilated and covered with wounds. "What barbarous hand has reduced you to this pitiable condition?" exclaimed the king, running towards him. "It is my own act," replied Zopyrus. "I am going to Babylon, where my name, and the rank I hold in your court, are well known: I will accuse you of having punished, by the most undeserved and odious cruelties, the

d Id. lib. 3. cap. 80.
* The year 521 before Christ.
e Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.
f Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 151.

† According to Herodotus, lib. 4. cap. 143, Darius did not name Zopyrus, but Megabyzus, father of that young Persian.

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advice I gave you to retire from before the city. A body of troops will be intrusted to my command; you will sacrifice some of yours, and facilitate successes which will more and more acquire me the confidence of the enemy: I shall be able to make myself master of the gates, and Babylon shall be yours!" Darius was filled with grief and admiration. The project of Zopyrus succeeded. His friend loaded him with caresses and bounties: but often said; I would have given a hundred Babylons to have saved Zopyrus from so barbarous a treatment [g].

From this sensibility, so amiable in an individual, so precious in a sovereign, resulted that clemency the vanquished so often experienced on the part of this prince, and the gratitude with which he rewarded, with kingly munificence, the services he had received as an individual [h]. Hence originated likewise that moderation which shone forth in the most rigorous acts of his authority. Before his time the revenues of the crown consisted only in the voluntary offerings of his subjects; offerings received by Cyrus with the tenderness of a father, but exacted by Cambyses with the haughtiness of a master [i]; and which in future the sovereign might have multiplied at his pleasure. Darius divided his kingdom into twenty governments or satrapies, and submitted the quota of contributions he proposed to draw from each province to the examination of the persons placed over them. All these governors exclaimed against the smallness of the tributes. But the king, distrustful of their counsel, took care to reduce them to the half [k].

The various parts of the administration were regulated by wise laws [l], which maintained that harmony and peace among the Persians which support a state; and individuals found, in the security of their rights and possessions, the only equality they can possibly enjoy in a monarchy.

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[g] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.
[h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 140.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 89.
[k] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[l] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.

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Darius rendered his reign illustrious by useful institutions, and tarnished it by conquests. Born with military talents; idolized by his troops [m]; intrepidly courageous in the time of action, but cool and unruffled in the moment of danger [n], he subdued almost as many nations as Cyrus himself [o].

His forces, his victories, and that flattery which constantly waits on thrones, persuaded him, that a word from him ought to compel the homage of nations; and as he was as capable of executing as of forming great projects, he might defer, but never totally abandoned them.

Intending to speak of the immense resources he possessed, to add Greece to the number of his conquests, I chose to premise some features of his character, for a sovereign is still more powerful by his personal qualities than by his power.

The power of the Persian monarch was almost unlimited. His empire, the extent of which in certain places is about 21,164 stadia * from east to west, and about 7936 † from north to south, may contain in superficies 115,618,000 square stadia ‡; whilst the surface of Greece, consisting at most of 1,366,000 square stadia §, forms but the 115th part of that of Persia. The latter comprises a number of provinces situated under the happiest climate, fertilized by vast rivers, adorned by flourishing cities, rich from the nature of the soil [p], the industry of the inhabitants, the activity of commerce, and a population favoured at once by religion, the laws, and rewards appropriated to fecundity.

The taxes levied in money [q] amounted to something more than 14,560 Eubœic talents ||. These were not intended to defray the current expences ¶; but converted into ingots [r],

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[m] Plut. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.
[n] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[o] Id. ibid.
* 800 French leagues of 2500 toises each.
† 300 leagues.
‡ 165,200 square leagues.
§ 1952 square leagues. (*Manuscript note of M. d'Anville.*).
[p] Xenophon. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Arrian. Hist. Indic. p. 355.
[q] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.
|| About 90 millions of livres (or 3,750,000 pounds Sterling).
¶ See note V. at the end of the volume.
[r] Herodot. ibid. cap. 96.

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and reserved for extraordinary occasions. The provinces were called upon for the maintenance of the royal household and the subsistence of the armies [s]: some furnished corn [t], others horses [u]; Armenia alone was charged with an annual supply of twenty thousand colts [x]. Other satrapies contributed flocks of cattle, wool, ebony, elephants teeth, and various kinds of productions [y].

Troops dispersed over the provinces retained them in obedience, or secured them against invasion [z]. Another army, composed of the best soldiers, watched over the personal safety of the prince: among them stood particularly distinguished a body of ten thousand men, called the immortals, as their number was always intended to be complete [a]; no other corps dared to dispute with them; either the honour of precedency, or the reward of valour.

Cyrus had introduced a discipline into the armies [b], which his first successors carefully maintained. Every year the sovereign ordered a general review, and made himself exactly acquainted with the state of the troops near his person. Intelligent and faithful inspectors were sent to exercise the same functions at a distance. The officers who fulfilled their duty obtained rewards; and those who were found guilty of negligence were deprived of their command [c].

The nation of the Persians, the first nation of the East, since it had produced Cyrus, considered valour as the most eminent of qualities [d], and consequently esteemed it in its enemies [e]. To brave the rigour of the seasons, to endure long and arduous marches, to cast the javelin, to swim torrents, were infant sports with the Persians [f]; to which, in a more

[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 192.
[t] Id. lib. 3. cap. 91.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 90.
[x] Strab. lib. 11. p. 530.
[y] Herodot. ibid. cap. 97. Strab. lib. 15. p. 735.
[z] Herodot. ibid. cap. 90, 91. Xenoph. Cycrop. lib. 8. p. 230.
[a] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Hesych. et Suid. in Ἀθαν.
[b] Xenoph. Cycrop. lib. 8. p. 225.
[c] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 828.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 136.
[e] Id. lib. 7. cap. 181.
[f] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 15. p. 733.

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advanced age, they added the chase, and other exercises conducive to bodily strength [g]. In peace they appeared with part of the arms usually borne in war [h]; and, not to lose the habit of riding on horseback, they scarcely ever went on foot [i]. These manners insensibly became those of the whole empire.

The principal strength of the Persian armies consists in their cavalry. Even in their flight they let fly their arrows which arrest the impetuosity of the victor [k]. Both horse and horsemen are covered with brass and iron [l]: Media furnishes horses famous for their size, strength, and speed [m].

At the age of twenty, every man is obliged to enrol his name in the militia; he ceases to serve at fifty [n]. At the first command of the sovereign, all who are appointed to make the campaign, must, in a limited time, resort to the place of rendezvous. The laws in this respect are dreadfully severe. Unhappy fathers have sometimes requested, as a reward for their past services, to retain their children with them at home, as the support of their old age: I will dispense with their accompanying me, replied the prince, and immediately ordered them to be put to death [o].

The eastern kings never march on any expedition without being attended by prodigious armies. They think it essential to their dignity to show themselves on these occasions with all the pageantry of state: they imagine that victory is decided by the number of soldiers, and that by collecting the greatest part of their forces about their person they shall prevent any disturbances that might happen during their absence. But if these armies do not carry all before them, by the sudden terror

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g Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 5.

h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. t. i. p. 874. Marcellin. lib. 23. p. 383.

i Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 4. p. 102; lib. 8. p. 241.

k Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 306. Plut. in Crass. t. i. p. 558.

l Brisson. de Reg. Pers. lib. 3. cap. 33, &c.

m Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 106. Id. lib. 7. cap. 40. Arrian. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 77. Brisson. ibid. cap. 29.

n Strab. lib. 15. p. 734.

o Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 84; lib. 7. cap. 39. Senec. de Irâ, l. 3. c. 16 et 17.

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they inſpire, or by the firſt ſhock of their attack, they are ſoon compelled to retire, either from the want of ſubſiſtence, or the diſcouragement of the troops; for which reaſon we often ſee the wars of Aſia terminate in a ſingle campaign, and the fate of an empire depend on the iſſue of a battle.

The kings of Perſia enjoy an abſolute authority, ſecured by the reſpect of nations accuſtomed to venerate them as living images of the divinity [p]. Their birth is a day of feſtivity [q]; and at their death, emblematically to ſignify that the world has loſt the principle of light and laws, care is taken to extinguiſh the ſacred fire, and to ſhut up the tribunals of juſtice [r]. During their reign, individuals offer no ſacrifices, without addreſſing their vows to heaven for the ſovereign, as well as for the nation. All, without excepting the tributary princes, the governors of provinces, and the nobles reſiding at the porte (or gate *), call themſelves the ſlaves of the king; a term at this day expreſſive of extreme ſervitude, but which, in the days of Cyrus and Darius, was only a teſtimonial of loyal affection and zeal.

Until the reign of the latter of theſe princes, the Perſians had no motives of difference with the nations of the Grecian continent. Scarcely did the court of Suſa know that ſuch cities as Lacedæmon or Athens exiſted [s], when Darius reſolved to ſubjugate thoſe diſtant countries. Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, whom he had lately married, gave him the firſt idea of this expedition, which ſhe had received from a Greek phyſician named Democedes, who had cured her of a dangerous diſorder. Democedes, unable to procure his liberty by other means, formed the project of an invaſion in Greece: he perſuaded the queen to approve his plan, and flattered him-

[p] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 125.
[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1 t. ii. p. 121.
[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. p. 580. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 294. Briſſon. de Reg. Perſ. p. 54.

* This word was uſed to ſignify the court of the kings of Perſia. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 201, 203, &c. Plut. in Pelop. t. 1. p. 294.
[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 153; lib. 5. cap. 73 et 105.

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ſelf, that, by obtaining a commiſſion, he ſhould facilitate the means of viſiting Crotona his native country.

Atoſſa, taking advantage of a moment in which Darius was expreſſing his affection for her, thus addreſſed him: "It is time to ſignalize your acceſſion to the crown by an enterpriſe which ſhall acquire you the eſteem of your ſubjects [t]. The Perſians muſt have a conqueror for their ſovereign. Employ their reſtleſs ardour againſt foreign nations, if you would not that they ſhould direct it againſt yourſelf." Darius replied, that he propoſed to make war againſt the Scythians. "The Scythians," replied the queen, "will be an eaſy conqueſt whenever you think proper. I wiſh you to turn your arms againſt Greece, and to bring me back ſome women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, of Corinth, and of Athens, to wait my commands." From that moment Darius ſuſpended his project againſt the Scythians, and ſent Democedes with five Perſians to bring him an exact deſcription of the country of which he meditated the conqueſt.

No ſooner had Democedes quitted the dominions of Darius, than he fled to Italy. The Perſians, of whom he was to be the guide, ſuffered various misfortunes, and, when they returned to Suſa, the queen was cooled in the deſire of having Greek ſlaves, and Darius was occupied with more important cares.

The king having reduced the city of Babylon to obedience, reſolved to march againſt the nations of Scythia *, who encamp with their flocks and herds between the Iſter † and the Tanais, on the borders of the Euxine ſea.

He began his march at the head of ſeven hundred thouſand ſoldiers [u], to offer ſervitude to a people, who, to ruin his army, had only to draw it into uncultivated and deſert countries. Darius perſiſted in following them, and ran over extenſive ſolitudes as a victor. "And why flieſt thou at my

[t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 134.

* The year 508 before Chriſt.

† The Danube.

[u] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 5.

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approach?" ſent he one day to aſk of the king of the Scythians. "If thou art able to reſiſt me, ſtop, and bravely fight; if thou dareſt not, acknowledge thy maſter." The king of the Scythians replied: "I neither fly nor fear any man. It is our cuſtom to wander quietly over our vaſt domains, during war, as well as in time of peace: we know no bleſſing but liberty, and acknowledge no maſters but the gods. If thou wouldſt prove our valour, follow us, and come and inſult the tombs of our anceſtors [x]."

In the mean time the army was enfeebled by ſickneſs, the want of proviſions, and the difficulty of the marches. It became neceſſary to reſolve on regaining the bridge which Darius had thrown over the Iſter, the guard of which he had intruſted to the Greeks of Ionia, with a permiſſion to retire home, if they did not ſee him return within two months [y]. When this time had expired, ſeveral bodies of Scythians appeared more than once on the banks of the river [z]: at firſt they employed entreaties, and afterwards had recourſe to menaces, to induce the officers of the fleet to carry it back to Ionia. Miltiades the Athenian ſtrongly recommended this meaſure; but Hiſtiæus of Miletus, repreſenting [a] to the other chiefs, that, appointed as they had been by Darius governors of the different cities of Ionia, they would be reduced to the condition of ſimple individuals were they to ſuffer the king to periſh, they promiſed the Scythians to break down the bridge, but determined to remain. This determination ſaved Darius and his army.

The diſgrace of the Scythian expedition was ſoon effaced by an important conqueſt. The king obliged the nations inhabiting the banks of the Indus to acknowledge themſelves his ſubjects; and that river became the limits of his empire to the eaſt [b].

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[x] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 127.
[y] Id. lib. 4. cap. 98.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 133.
[a] Herod. lib. 4. cap. 133. Nep. in Miltiad. c. 3.
[b] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 44.

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To the weſt it was bounded by a ſeries of Greek colonies ſettled on the coaſts of the Ægean ſea. There ſtood Epheſus, Miletus, Smyrna, and ſeveral flouriſhing cities, aſſociated in different confederations. Theſe are ſeparated from the continent of Greece by the ſea, and a number of iſlands, ſome of which were ſubject to the Athenians, and others independent. The Grecian cities of Aſia aſpired to ſhake off the Perſian yoke; while the inhabitants of the iſlands, and of Greece, properly ſo called, dreaded the vicinity of a power which menaced the nations with general ſervitude.

Theſe fears were greatly increaſed when they ſaw Darius, at his return from Scythia, leave an army of eighty thouſand men in Thrace, which ſubjected that kingdom [c], obliged the king of Macedonia to do homage to Darius for his crown [d], and took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Lemnos and of Imbros [e].

Still more were they alarmed when they ſaw the Perſians make an attempt upon the iſle of Naxos, and threaten the iſland of Eubœa, contiguous to Attica [f]. The cities of Ionia, now reſolved to endeavour the recovery of their ancient liberty, expelled their governors [g], burnt the city of Sardes, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia [h], and drew the people of Caria and the iſle of Cyprus into the league they had formed againſt Darius [i]. This revolt * was in fact the ſeed of thoſe wars which were on the point of effecting the utter deſtruction of all the powers of Greece, and which one hundred and fifty years after overthrew the Perſian empire.

The Lacedæmonians refuſed to accede to the league; the Athenians, without openly declaring themſelves, determined to favour it. The king of Perſia no longer diſſembled his deſire to extend the boundaries of his empire on their ſide. They owed to the greateſt part of the cities which had recently withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to him, the

[c] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[d] Id. lib. 5. cap. 18.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[g] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 37.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 102.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 103.
* Towards the year 504 before C.

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assistance due from a mother-country to her colonies: they had long complained of the protection granted by the Persians to Hippias, son of Pisistratus, whom they had banished for his tyranny. Artaphernes, brother of Darius, and satrap of Lydia, had declared to them, that the only method of providing for their safety, was to recal Hippias [k]; and they knew that the latter, since his residence at the court of Susa, fomented in the mind of Darius those prejudices incessantly inspired into him against the nations of Greece, and in particular against the Athenians [l]. Actuated by these motives, the Athenians sent troops into Ionia, which assisted in the taking of Sardes. Their example was followed by the Eretrians of Euboea.

The principal author of the insurrection in Ionia was that Histiæus of Miletus, who, in the Scythian expedition, had persisted in guarding the bridge over the Ister; an important service which Darius never forgot, but remembered even after he had rewarded it.

But Histiæus, considering himself as an exile at the court of Susa, and impatient to revisit his country, secretly excited the troubles of Ionia, and made use of them to obtain permission to return into that province, where he was soon after taken in arms. The generals lost no time in putting him to death, knowing as they did the generosity of their master; and in fact that prince, less irritated at his treachery, than impressed with a sense of the obligations he owed him, honoured his memory by funeral obsequies, and severely censured his generals for their hasty sentence [m].

About the same time, some Phœnician vessels having taken an Athenian galley, found in it Metiochus, son of that Miltiades who had advised the breaking of the bridge over the Ister, by which Darius would have been abandoned to the fury of the Scythians: they sent him to the king, who re-

[k] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 96.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 30.

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ceived him with diſtinction, and engaged him by his bounties to take up his reſidence in Perſia [n].

Not that Darius was inſenſible to the revolt of the Ionians, and the conduct of the Athenians. On being informed of the burning of Sardes, he vowed to take exemplary vengeance on the latter people; and charged one of his officers daily to remind him of the injury he had received from them [o]: but it was firſt neceſſary to conclude the war excited againſt him by the former. It continued during ſeveral years, and ended greatly to the advantage of the Perſians. Ionia was again reduced to obedience, and ſeveral iſlands of the Ægean ſea and all the cities of the Helleſpont ſubmitted to the king [p].

Mardonius, his ſon-in-law, immediately departed at the head of a powerful army, and having completely re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in Ionia, repaired into Macedonia, and there, whether anticipating the orders of Darius, or merely obeying them, he embarked his troops. His pretext was to puniſh the Athenians and Eretrians; his real object to render all Greece tributary [q]: but a violent tempeſt having daſhed part of his veſſels and ſoldiers on the rocks of Mount Athos, he returned to Macedonia, and ſoon after to Suſa.

This diſaſter was not ſuch as to divert the ſtorm then impending over Greece. Darius, previous to proceeding to an open rupture, ſent heralds to the different countries he had determined to invade, to demand, in his name, earth and water [r]; which is the formulary employed by the Perſians to exact the homage of nations. The greater part of the iſlands and ſtates of the continent ſubmitted without heſitation: the Athenians and Lacedæmonians not only refuſed, but, by a manifeſt violation of the laws of nations, threw the ambaſſadors of the king into a deep dungeon [s]. The former carried their indignation ſtill further: they condemned the inter-

[n] Herodot. lib 6. cap. 41.
[o] Id. lib. 5. cap. 105.
[p] Id. lib. 6. cap. 31 et 33.
[q] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 48.
[s] Id. lib. 7. cap. 32.

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preter to die, who had ſullied the Grecian language, by explaining the orders of a barbarian [t].

On this intelligence, Darius gave the command of his forces to a Mede, named Datis, who had more experience than Mardonius, ordering him to deſtroy the cities of Athens and Eretria, and to bring him the inhabitants laden with chains [u].

The army preſently aſſembled in one of the plains of Cilicia; whence it was tranſported by ſix hundred veſſels into the iſland of Eubœa. The city of Eretria, after a vigorous defence of ſix days, was taken by the treachery of ſome citizens who had influence over the people [x]. The temples were demoliſhed, the inhabitants loaded with chains; and the fleet immediately making a deſcent upon the coaſt of Attica, landed near the village of Marathon, about one hundred and forty ſtadia * from Athens, a hundred thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand cavalry [y]: they encamped in a plain terminated toward the eaſt by the ſea, ſhut in by mountains on every other ſide, and about two hundred ſtadia in circumference †.

In the mean time Athens was in the utmoſt conſternation and diſmay [z]. She had implored the aſſiſtance of the other nations of Greece; but ſome had ſubmitted to Darius, and others trembled at the very name of the Medes or Perſians [a]. The Lacedæmonians alone promiſed troops, but various obſtacles did not allow them immediately to form a junction with thoſe of Athens [b].

This city, therefore, could only rely on its own ſtrength. And how ſhould ſhe, with a few ſoldiers haſtily levied, dare to reſiſt a power, which in the ſpace of half a century had overthrown the greateſt empires of the world? Though by the ſacrifice of her moſt illuſtrious citizens, and her braveſt warriors, ſhe ſhould obtain the honour of diſputing, for ſome

[t] Plut. in Them. p. 114. Ariſtid. Panath. Orat. t. i. p. 211.
[u] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 94.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 101.
* Near ſix leagues.
[y] Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
† About ſeven leagues and a half.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 112.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 106. Plat. ibid. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

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time, the victory, would she not soon see armies more formidable than the first, issue from the Asiatic coasts, and from the heart of Persia? The Greeks have irritated Darius, and, by adding insult to their offence, have left him no choice but vengeance, dishonour, or a pardon. Would the homage he requires involve an humiliating servitude? Do not the Grecian colonies established in his states retain their laws, their religious worship, and their possessions? Has she not after their revolt obliged them, by the wisest regulations, to unite among themselves, and to be happy in despite of their dissensions? And has not Mardonius himself recently established the democracy in the cities of Ionia [c]?

These reflections, which induced the nations of Greece in general to declare in favour of the Persians, were counterbalanced, in the minds of the Athenians, by not less weighty apprehensions. The general of Darius with one hand held out the fetters with which he had orders to enchain them [d], and with the other presented them that Hippias, whose solicitations and intrigues had at length conducted the Persians into the plains of Marathon [e]. They must resolve, therefore, to submit to the wretched indignity of being dragged like vile slaves to the feet of Darius, or to the still more dreadful fate of again groaning under the cruelties of a tyrant breathing nothing but vengeance. In this alternative scarcely did they deliberate, but resolved to perish at least in arms.

Happily at this moment there appeared three men, destined to give new energy to the state. These were Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. Their characters will best display themselves in the narrative of their actions. Miltiades had long carried on war in Thrace, where he had acquired a splendid reputation; Aristides and Themistocles, younger than himself, had, from their infancy, manifested a rivalry, which would have been the ruin of the state [f], had they not sacri-

[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 42 et 43.
[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 102.
[f] Plut. in Aristid. p. 319.

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ficed it, on all emergent occafions, to the public welfare. A fingle ftroke is fufficient to paint Ariftides; he was the moft juft and moft virtuous of the Athenians: but many are neceffary to defcribe the talents, the refources, and the views of Themiftocles; he loved his country, but he loved glory ftill more than his country.

The example and harangues of thefe three illuftrious citizens kindled the flame of the nobleft heroifm in the minds of the Athenians. Levies were immediately made. Each of the ten tribes furnifhed a thoufand foot foldiers, with a commander at their head. To complete this number, it was neceffary to enrol the flaves [g]. No fooner were the troops affembled, than they marched out of the city into the plain of Marathon, where the inhabitants of Platæa in Bœotia fent them a reinforcement of a thoufand infantry [h].

Scarcely were the two armies in fight of each other, before Miltiades propofed to attack the enemy [i]. Ariftides, and feveral of the commanders, warmly fupported this meafure; but the reft, terrified at the exceffive difproportion of the armies, were defirous of waiting for the fuccours from Lacedæmon. Opinions being divided, they had recourfe to that of the polemarch, or chief of the militia, who is confulted on fuch occafions, to put an end to the equality of fuffrages. Miltiades addreffed himfelf to him, with the ardour of a man deeply impreffed with the importance of prefent circumftances: "Athens," faid he to him, "is on the point of experiencing the greateft of viciffitudes. Ready to become the firft power of Greece, or the theatre of the tyranny and fury of Hippias, from you alone, Callimachus, fhe now awaits her deftiny. If we fuffer the ardour of the troops to cool, they will fhamefully bow beneath the Perfian yoke; but if we lead them on to battle, the gods and victory will favour

[g] Paufan. lib. 1. p. 79.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 108. Juftin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 109. Plut. in Ariftid. p. 321.

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us. A word from your month muſt now precipitate your country into ſlavery, or preſerve her liberty."

Callimachus gave his ſuffrage, and the battle was reſolved. To enſure ſucceſs, Ariſtides, and the other generals, after his example, yielded to Miltiades the honour of the command, which belonged to them in rotation; but to ſecure them from every hazard, he preferred waiting for the day, which of right placed him at the head of the army [k].

When that day arrived, Miltiades drew up his troops at the foot of a mountain, on a ſpot of ground ſcattered over with trees, to impede the Perſian cavalry. The Plataeans were placed on the left wing; Callimachus commanded the right; Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were in the centre of the battle [l], and Miltiades every where. An interval of eight ſtadia * ſeparated the Grecian army from that of the Perſians [m].

At the firſt ſignal, the Greeks advanced over this ſpace running. The Perſians, aſtoniſhed at a mode of attack ſo novel to both nations, for a moment remained motionleſs; but to the impetuous fury of the enemy, they ſoon oppoſed a more ſedate, and no leſs formidable fury. After an obſtinate conflict of ſome hours, victory began to declare herſelf in the two wings of the Grecian army. The right diſperſed the enemy in the plain, while the left drove them back on a moraſs that had the appearance of a meadow, in which they ſtuck faſt, and were loſt [n]. Both theſe bodies of troops now flew to the ſuccour of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, ready to give way before the flower of the Perſian troops, placed by Datis in the centre of his battle. From this moment, the rout became general. The Perſians, repulſed on all ſides, found their only aſylum in the fleet, which had approached the ſhore. The conquerors purſued them with fire and ſword,

k Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 110. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.

l Id. ibid. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.

* Nearly a mile.

m Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 112.

n Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 80.

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and took, burnt, or funk, the greater part of their veffels: the reft efcaped by dint of rowing [o].

The Perfian army loft about fix thoufand four hundred men; that of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two heroes [p]; for not a man but merited that title on this occafion. Miltiades was wounded; Hippias was left dead on the field, as were Stefileus and Callimachus, two of the Athenian generals [q].

Scarcely was the battle over, when a foldier, worn out with fatigue, forms the project of carrying the firft news of fo fignal a fuccefs to the magiftrates of Athens, and, without quitting his arms, he runs, flies, arrives, announces the victory, and falls dead at their feet [r].

This victory, nevertheleſs, would have proved fatal to the Greeks, but for the activity of Miltiades. Datis, in his retreat, had conceived the hope of furprifing Athens, which he imagined to be without defence, and his fleet had already doubled cape Sunium. No fooner was Miltiades informed of this, than he began his march, arrived the fame day under the walls of the city, by his prefence difconcerted the projects of the enemy, and obliged them to retire to the coafts of Afia [s].

The battle was fought [t] on the fixth of Boedromion, in the third year of the feventy-fecond Olympiad *. The next day, two thoufand Spartans arrived. In three days and nights [u] they had marched twelve hundred ftadia †. Though informed of the defeat of the Perfians, they continued their march to Marathon, nor did they enviouſly ſhun to behold thofe fields where a rival nation had fignalized itfelf by fo heroic an action; they there beheld the tents of the Perfians ſtill ſtanding, the plain ſtrewed over with dead, and covered with

[o] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 115. Juftin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[p] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 117.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 114.
[r] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347.
[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 116.
[t] Corfin. Faft. Att. t. iii. p. 149.
* The 29th September, of the year 490 before Chrift.
[u] Ifocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 163. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
† About 46 leagues and a half.

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coſtly ſpoils: they there found Ariſtides, who, with his tribe, was guarding the priſoners and booty, and did not retire until they had beſtowed juſt applauſes on the victors [x].

The Athenians neglected nothing to eternize the memory of thoſe who fell in the battle. Honourable funerals were beſtowed on them; their names were engraven on half columns erected on the plain of Marathon. Theſe monuments, not excepting thoſe of the generals Callimachus and Stefileus, are in a ſtyle of the greateſt ſimplicity [y]. In the intervals between them were erected trophies, bearing the arms of the Perſians. An artiſt of eminence had painted all the circumſtances of the battle, in one of the moſt frequented porticos of the city: Miltiades was there repreſented at the head of the generals, and in the act of exhorting the troops to fight for their country [z].

Darius received the news of the defeat of his army with indignation; and every one trembled for the fate of the Eretrians, whom Datis was conducting to his feet. But no ſooner did he behold them than pity ſuperſeded every other ſentiment in his heart [a]: he diſtributed lands among them at ſome diſtance from Suſa; and, to avenge himſelf of the Greeks in a manner more noble, and more worthy of himſelf, immediately ordered freſh levies, and made immenſe preparations.

The Athenians themſelves were not long before they revenged his diſgrace on their general. They had raiſed Miltiades ſo high, that he began to be the object of their fear. Jealouſy ſuggeſted, that, during his command in Thrace, he had exerciſed all the rights of ſovereignty [b]; that, formidable as he was to foreign nations, and idolized by the Athenian people, it was time to keep a vigilant eye on his virtues, as well as his glory. The ill ſucceſs of an expedition he had undertaken againſt the iſle of Paros, furniſhed a new pretext

[x] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 120. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 321. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

[y] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 79.

[z] Nep. in Milt. cap. 6.

[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 119.

[b] Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

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to the hatred of his enemies. He was accuſed of ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by Perſian money, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of the moſt virtuous citizens, was condemned to be thrown into the dungeon in which maleſactors are left to periſh [c]. The magiſtracy oppoſing the execution of this infamous decree, his puniſhment was commuted into a fine of fifty talents; and, as he was unable to pay this ſum, Athens ſaw the vanquiſher of Darius expire in chains, of the wounds he had received in the ſervice of the ſtate [d].

Theſe dreadful examples of injuſtice and ingratitude on the part of a ſovereign or a nation, diſcourage neither ambition nor virtue. They are ſhoals in the track of honour, like rocks in the midſt of the ocean. Themiſtocles and Ariſtides aſſumed over the Athenians that ſuperiority which the one merited by the diverſity of his talents, and the other by the uniformity of a conduct wholly devoted to the public good. The former, agitated day and night by the recollection of the trophies of Miltiades [e]; never ceaſed, by new decrees, to flatter the pride of a people intoxicated with their victory; the latter employed himſelf only in maintaining the laws and manners, to which they were indebted for it. Theſe two men, diametrically oppoſite in their principles and projects, ſo filled the place of aſſembly with their diſſenſions, that Ariſtides, after having one day gained an advantage over his adverſary, contrary to all reaſon, could not refrain from ſaying, that the republic was ruined, if both Themiſtocles and himſelf were not thrown into a dungeon [f].

Talents and intrigue at length triumphed over virtue. As Ariſtides offered himſelf as the arbitrator of the differences of individuals, the reputation of his juſtice cauſed the tribunals to be almoſt deſerted. The faction of Themiſtocles ac-

[c] Plat. in Gorg. t. ii. p. 516.
[d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 136. Nep. in Milt. cap. 7.
[e] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 113.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 320.

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cuſed him of erecting in his own perſon a ſovereign power, the more to be dreaded, as it was founded on the love of the people, and called for the puniſhment of exile. The tribes aſſembled, and were to give their ſuffrages in writing. Ariſtides was preſent while they voted, when an obſcure citizen, ſeated beſide him, deſired him to write the name of the accuſed on a ſmall ſhell, which he preſented for that purpoſe. "Has he done you any injury?" ſaid Ariſtides. "No," anſwered this ſtranger; "but I am diſguſted with hearing him every where called *the Juſt*." Ariſtides wrote his name, was condemned, and departed from the city, offering up prayers for the proſperity of his country [g].

His baniſhment took place ſhortly after the death of Darius. That prince at once menaced Greece, which had refuſed to ſubmit to the Perſian yoke, and Egypt, which had ſhaken it off [h]. His ſon Xerxes was the heir to his throne [*], without inheriting any of his great qualities. Educated in a high opinion of his power; juſt and beneficent by ſallies; unjuſt and cruel from weakneſs; almoſt always incapable of bearing with moderation either ſucceſs or the reverſe of fortune, the only diſtinctive features that conſtantly marked his character, were extreme violence [i] and exceſſive puſillanimity.

After puniſhing the Egyptians for their revolt, and fooliſhly aggravating the weight of their chains [k], he would perhaps have peaceably enjoyed his vengeance, but for one of thoſe baſe courtiers who ſacrifice, without remorſe, the blood of thouſands to their own private intereſts, Mardonius, whom the honour of eſpouſing the ſiſter of his maſter [l] had inſpired with the moſt extravagant pretenſions, wiſhed to command armies, to efface the diſhonour he had ſuffered in his former expedition, and bring Greece under ſubjection, that he might

g Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 1.
h Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 1.
* The year 485 before Chriſt.
i Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
k Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 7.
l Id. lib. 6. cap. 43.

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become its governor, and indulge his love of rapine. He easily persuaded Xerxes to undertake the uniting of that country and the rest of Europe to the empire of the Persians[m]. War was determined on, ond all Asia thrown into commotion.

To the prodigious preparations made by Darius, were added others still more tremendous. Four years[n] were employed in levying troops, forming magazines on the road the army was to pass, conveying to the sea coasts warlike stores and provisions, and building galleys and transport vessels in all the ports.

At length the king departed from Susa, persuaded that he was about to extend the limits of his empire, even to those climes where the sun finishes his course[o]. On his arrival at Sardis in Lydia, he sent heralds through all Greece, except to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Their commission was to receive the homage of the islands, and the nations of the continent, many of whom submitted to the Persians[p].

In the spring of the fourth year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad *, Xerxes repaired to the shores of the Hellespont, with the most numerous army that ever had laid waste the earth[q]. He there wished to contemplate, at one view, the spectacle of his power; and, from a lofty throne, beheld the sea covered with his ships, and the land overspread with his army[r].

The coast of Asia, at this place, is separated from that of Europe[s] only by an arm of the sea, seven stadia in breadth †. Two bridges of boats, secured by anchors, joined the opposite shores. The building of these had been at first intrusted to some Egyptians and Phœnicians. A violent tempest hav-

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[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. p. 1.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 20.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[p] Id. lib. 7. cap. 32. Diod. Sic lib. 11. p 2.

* The year 480 before Christ.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 20.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 44.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 34. Æschyl. in Pers. v. 747.
† See note VI. at the end of the vol

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ing deſtroyed their work, Xerxes ordered the heads of the workmen to be ſtruck off; and treating the ſea as a revolted ſlave, commanded it to be ſcourged, marked with a hot iron, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it [t]; yet was this prince followed by ſeveral millions of men!

His troops employed ſeven days and nights in paſſing the ſtrait [u]; his baggage a whole month [x]. Thence taking his courſe by Thrace, and coaſting along the ſea [y], he arrived in the plain of Doriſcus, watered by the Hebrus, a convenient ſituation, not only to give repoſe to, and procure refreſhments for his ſoldiers, but to facilitate the muſtering and review of the army.

This was found to conſiſt of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe [z]. Twenty thouſand Arabs and Libyans conducted the camels and the waggons. Xerxes, mounted on a car, paſſed through all the ranks; he next went on board the fleet, which had approached the ſhore, and was compoſed of twelve hundred and ſeven galleys with three benches of oars [a]. Each of them would contain two hundred men, and the whole together two hundred and forty-one thouſand four hundred men. They were accompanied by three thouſand tranſport veſſels, in which it may be preſumed there were two hundred and forty thouſand more.

Such were the forces he had brought from Aſia; and theſe were ſoon augmented by three hundred thouſand fighting men from Thrace, Macedonia, Pæonia, and other European countries which had ſubmitted to the Perſian power. The neighbouring iſlands furniſhed upwards of a hundred and twenty galleys, containing twenty-four thouſand men [b]. If to this immenſe multitude we add an almoſt equal number of neceſſary or uſeleſs hands, who followed the army, we ſhall find

t Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 35.
u Id. ibid. cap. 56.
x Id. lib. 8. cap. 51.
y Id. lib. 7. cap. 59.
z Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 60 et 87.
a Id. lib. 7. cap. 100 et 184. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 166.
b Id. ibid. cap. 185.

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that five millions of men [c] had been torn from their native homes, and were preparing to deſtroy whole nations, to gratify the ambition of an individual named Mardonius.

After the review of the army and the fleet, Xerxes ſent for king Demaratus, who, having been exiled ſome years before from Lacedæmon, had found an aſylum at the court of Suſa.

"Do you imagine," ſaid he, "that the Greeks will dare to reſiſt my forces [d]?" Demaratus having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak the truth, replied, "The Greeks are to be feared, becauſe they are poor and virtuous. Without pronouncing the eulogium of the other ſtates, I ſhall only ſpeak to you of the Lacedæmonians. They will ſcorn the idea of ſlavery. Should all Greece ſubmit to your arms, they will be but the more ardent in defence of their liberty. Inquire not the number of their troops; were they but a ſingle thouſand, nay, were they ſtill fewer, they would preſent themſelves to the combat!"

The Perſian king, at hearing this, laughed aloud; and, after comparing his forces with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, "Do you not ſee," added he, "that the greateſt part of my ſoldiers would take to flight were they not retained by menaces and blows? As a ſimilar dread cannot operate on thoſe Spartans who are repreſented to us as ſo free and independent, it is evident that they will never unneceſſarily brave certain death: and what is there to conſtrain them to it?" "The law," replied Demaratus; "that law which has more power over them than you have over your ſubjects; that law which ſaith to them, Behold your enemies; the queſtion is not to number them; you muſt conquer or die [e]."

At theſe words the laughter of Xerxes redoubled. He gave his orders, and the army began its march, divided into three bodies, one of which followed the ſea ſhore, and the

[c] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 205.
[d] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 101.
[e] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 104.

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two others proceeded at ſtated diſtances through the interior part of the country [f]. The meaſures that had been adopted procured them certain means of ſubſiſtence. Three thouſand veſſels laden with proviſions kept along the coaſt, regulating their motions by thoſe of the army. The Egyptians and Phœnicians had previouſly ſtored many of the maritime towns of Thrace and Macedonia [g], and the Perſians, at every ſtation, were fed and provided with every thing by the inhabitants of the adjacent countries, who, long apprized of their arrival, were prepared for their reception [h].

Whilſt the army was purſuing its way towards Theſſaly, ravaging the country; conſuming, in a ſingle day, the harveſts of whole years; and dragging to the combat the nations it had reduced to indigence; the fleet of Xerxes croſſed, inſtead of doubling, Mount Athos.

This mountain extends itſelf in a peninſula, annexed to the continent only by an iſthmus of twelve ſtadia in breadth *. The Perſian fleet had experienced, ſome years before, the danger of this coaſt [i]. They might now have conveyed the fleet over the iſthmus by the labour of men: but Xerxes had ordered it to be cut through, and a number of workmen were long employed in digging a canal in which two galleys might ſail abreaſt [k]. Xerxes beheld their ſucceſs, and imagined that, after throwing a bridge over the ſea, and opening a paſſage through mountains, nothing could withſtand his power.

The fears which had agitated Greece for many years were now approaching the cataſtrophe. Ever ſince the battle of Marathon, the news brought from Aſia announced nothing but projects of vengeance on the part of the great king [l], and that the preparations ſuſpended by the death of Darius were reſumed with greater vigour by his ſon Xerxes.

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f Herodot. lib. 7. cap 121.
g Id. ibid cap. 25.
h Id. ibid. cap. 118 et 119.
* About half a league.
i Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
k Id. lib. 7. cap. 23 et 24.
l Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

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Whilst the latter monarch was busily employed in these, two Spartans suddenly made their appearance at the court of Susa, and were admitted to an audience of the king, but constantly refused to prostrate themselves before him in the manner of the eastern nations. "King of the Medes," said they, "the Lacedæmonians put to death, some years ago, the ambassadors of Darius. They owe a satisfaction to Persia: we come to offer you our heads." These two Spartans, named Sperthias and Bulis, learning that the gods, irritated at the murder of the Persian ambassadors, rejected the sacrifices of the Lacedæmonians, had devoted themselves for the salvation of their country [m]. Xerxes, surprised at their firmness, astonished them no less by his answer: "Go, say to Lacedæmon," replied he, "that if she be capable of violating the law of nations, I am incapable of following her example; nor will I expiate, by taking away your lives, the crime with which she has polluted herself."

Some time after, Xerxes being at Sardes, three Athenian spies were discovered, who had found means to gain admission into the Persian army. The king, far from condemning them to die, ordered that they should be permitted to take, at their leisure, an exact account of his forces, flattering himself that, at their return, the Greeks would lose no time in submitting to his power [n]. But the relation they gave only served to confirm the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the resolution they had before taken to form a general league among the nations of Greece. They assembled a council on the isthmus of Corinth; and their deputies flew from city to city, endeavouring to communicate the same ardour with which they themselves were animated. The pythia of Delphi incessantly interrogated, and incessantly surrounded with presents; striving to conciliate the honour of her ministry with the interested views of the priests, and the secret wishes

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 136. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235.

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 146.

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of all who consulted her; now exhorted the nations to remain inactive, and now augmented their alarms by the misery she announced, and their uncertainty by the impenetrable obscurity of her answers.

The Argives were pressed to enter into the confederation [o]. Six thousand of their soldiers, among whom was the choice body of their youth, had lately perished in an expedition into Argolis, under Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon [p]. Exhausted by this loss, they had obtained an oracle forbidding them to take up arms: they afterwards desired to command part of the army of the Greeks, and complaining of a refusal which they expected, they remained quiet [q], and concluded by carrying on a secret correspondence with the king of Persia [r].

More reasonable expectations had been formed from the assistance of Gelon, king of Syracuse. This prince, by his victories and talents, had recently subdued several Grecian colonies, which should naturally fly to the defence of their mother country. The deputies of Lacedæmon and Athens being admitted into his presence, Syagrus the Spartan was their speaker; who, after saying a few words of the forces and projects of Xerxes, contented himself with representing to Gelon, that the ruin of Greece would necessarily be followed by that of Sicily [s].

The king answered with emotion, that in his wars with the Carthaginians, and on other occasions, he had implored the assistance of the allied powers, without obtaining it; that their danger alone now forced them to have recourse to him; that, nevertheless, forgetting these just motives of complaint, he was ready to furnish two hundred galleys, twenty thousand heavy armed troops, four thousand horsemen, two thousand archers, and as many slingers: "I will besides engage," added he, "to procure the necessary provisions for the whole army

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[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 145.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 148.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 148. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 692. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 3.
[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 12.
[s] Id. lib. 7. cap. 157.

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during the war; but I require one condition, which is, to be named generaliſſimo of the forces both by ſea and land."

"Oh! how would the ſhade of Agamemnon groan," haſtily replied Syagrus, "were he to learn that the Lacedæmonians have been deprived by Gelon and the Syracuſans of the honour of commanding the armies of Greece! No, never will Sparta yield to you that prerogative. If you wiſh to ſuccour Greece, it is from us you muſt receive commands; if you pretend to give them, keep your ſoldiers."—"Syagrus," ſaid the king with calmneſs, "I do not forget that we are bound by the ties of hoſpitality; do you, on your part, recollect, that inſulting words ſerve but to exaſperate. The haughtineſs of your anſwer ſhall not make me overſtep the bounds of moderation; and though, by my power, I have more right than you to the ſupreme command, I propoſe to you to ſhare it. Chooſe that of the land army, or of the fleet; I will accept either."

"The Greeks," inſtantly replied the Athenian ambaſſador, "do not aſk a general, but troops. I was ſilent on your firſt claims, which it was for Syagrus to annul: but I declare, that if the Lacedæmonians yield up any part of the command, it by right devolves on the Athenians [t]."

On theſe words, Gelon diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, and loſt no time in ſending off to Delphi a perſon of the name of Cadmus, with orders to wait there the event of the battle; to withdraw if the Greeks were victors; and if vanquiſhed, to offer to Xerxes the homage of his crown, accompanied with rich preſents [u].

Nor were the greater part of the negociations ſet on foot by the confederate cities attended with any better ſucceſs. The inhabitants of Crete conſulted the oracle, which commanded them not to interfere in the affairs of Greece [x]. The Corcyreans fitted out ſixty galleys, which they ſent to ſea

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 161.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 163.

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with orders to remain peaceably on the ſouthern coaſts of Peloponneſus, and to declare in favour of the conquerors [y].

In fine the Theſſalians, who by the influence of ſeveral of their chiefs had been hitherto engaged on the part of the Medes, ſignified to the council that they were ready to guard the paſs of Mount Olympus, which leads from the lower Macedonia into Theſſaly, if the other Greeks would ſecond their efforts [z]. Ten thouſand men were immediately ſent off, under the command of Evenetus of Lacedæmon, and Themiſtocles of Athens: they arrived on the banks of the Peneus, and encamped with the Theſſalian cavalry, at the entrance of the vale of Tempe; but learning ſome days after, that the Perſian army could penetrate into Theſſaly by an eaſier road, and ſome deputies of Alexander, king of Macedon, apprizing them of the danger of their ſituation, they retired towards the iſthmus of Corinth; and the Theſſalians determined to make their peace with the Perſians.

There remained then for the defence of Greece only a ſmall number of ſtates and cities. Themiſtocles was the ſoul of their councils, and ſupported their hopes; alternately employing perſuaſion and addreſs, prudence and activity; actuating every mind, leſs by the force of eloquence than by his ſtrength of character; ever directed himſelf by a genius uncultivated by art, and which nature had deſtined to govern men and events: a kind of inſtinct, whoſe ſudden inſpirations unveiled to him every thing he had to hope or dread for the preſent or the future [a].

For ſome years paſt he had foreſeen that the battle of Marathon was but the prelude of the wars with which the Greeks were menaced; that they never had been in greater danger than ſince their victory; that to ſecure the ſuperiority they had acquired, they muſt abandon the methods by which it

[x] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 169.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 168. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 172.
[a] Thucydid. lib. 1. c. 138. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 112. Nep. in Themiſt. c. 1 &c.

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had been obtained; that they would always be masters of the continent, could they but be so of the sea; and that in short a time would come when the general safety would depend on that of Athens, and the safety of Athens on the number of her ships.

In consequence of these reflections, equally new and important, he had undertaken to effect a total change in the ideas of the Athenians, and to turn their views to the establishment of a navy. Two circumstances enabled him to execute his plan. The Athenians were at war with the inhabitants of the island of Ægina; they had to divide at the same time considerable sums arising from their silver mines. He persuaded them to forego this distribution, and to build two hundred galleys, either to attack the Æginetæ, or to defend themselves against the future attacks of the Persians [b]: these galleys were in the ports of Attica at the time of the invasion of Xerxes.

Whilst this prince was continuing his march, it was resolved in the council of the isthmus, that a body of troops, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta, should take possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, situated between Thessaly and Locris [c]; that the fleet of the Greeks should wait for that of the Persians in the adjoining seas, in a strait formed by the coasts of Thessaly and Eubœa.

The Athenians, who were to fit out a hundred and twenty-seven galleys, alleged that they had more right to the command of the fleet than the Lacedæmonians, who furnished only ten [d]. But seeing that the allies threatened to withdraw unless they were headed by a Spartan, they desisted from their claim. Eurybiades was elected general, and had under him Themistocles and the leaders of the other nations [e].

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[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 144. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 14. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 175. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4.

[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 1. Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 206.

[e] Plut. in Themist. p. 115.

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The fleet, consisting of two hundred and eighty vessels [f], repaired to the place of its destination, and remained on the coasts of Eubœa, in a strait named Artemisium.

Leonidas, having been informed of the choice of the council, foresaw his fate, and submitted to it with that greatness of soul which then characterized his nation: he chose to accompany him only three hundred Spartans, who equalled him in courage, and with whose sentiments he was perfectly acquainted [g]. The ephori having represented to him, that so small a number of soldiers could not suffice: "They are very few," answered he, "to stop the progress of the enemy, but too many for the object they have in view." "And what then is that object?" demanded the ephori. "Our duty," replied he, "is to defend the pass; our resolution to perish in it. Three hundred victims suffice for the honour of Sparta. She would be irreparably lost did she intrust me with all her warriors; for I am convinced that not a single man among them would even think of flight [h]."

Some days after, Lacedæmon exhibited a spectacle which it is impossible to recollect without emotion. The companions of Leonidas previously honoured his death and their own by a funeral combat, at which their fathers and mothers attended [i]. This ceremony ended, they left the city, followed by their relations and friends, from whom they received an eternal farewell; at which time the wife of Leonidas asking him his last wishes: "I wish you," said he to her, "a husband worthy of you, and children who may resemble him [k]."

Leonidas hastened his march; since he was anxious, by his example, to retain in their duty several cities ready to declare for the Persians [l]. He passed through the country of the Thebans, whose fidelity was suspected, but who nevertheless

f Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 1.
g Id lib. 7. cap. 205.
h Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4. Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.
i Plut. de Herodot. Malign. p. 866.
k Id. ibid.; et Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
l Herodot. lib. 7. cap 206.

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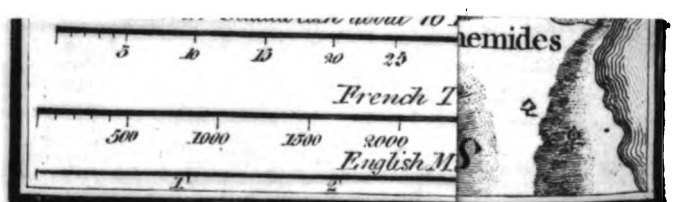

T. Cooke fc.

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furnished him with four hundred men; after which he proceeded on his march and encamped at Thermopylæ [m].

Soon after arrived successively a thousand soldiers from Tegea and Mantinea, a hundred and twenty from Orchomenus, a thousand from the other cities of Arcadia, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, eighty from Mycenæ, seven hundred from Thespia, and a thousand from Phocis. The little nation of the Locrians repaired to the camp with all its forces [n].

This detachment, which amounted to about seven thousand men [*], was to be followed by the whole army of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians were detained at home by a festival; the other allies were preparing for the solemnity of the Olympic games; and all imagined that Xerxes was yet far distant from Thermopylæ [o].

This pass is the only road by which an army can penetrate from Thessaly into Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and the adjacent countries [p]. It will be necessary to give a succinct description of it.

On quitting Phocis to go into Thessaly †, we pass by the little country of the Locrians, and arrive at the town of Alpenus, situated by the sea [q]. As it stands at the entrance of the strait, it has been fortified in these modern times [r].

The road at first is only wide enough for the passage of a waggon [s]; but it afterwards enlarges itself between morasses formed by the waters of the sea [t], and almost inaccessible rocks, which terminate the chain of mountains known by the name of Œta [u].

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[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 205. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 5.

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 202.

[*] See note VII. at the end of the volume.

[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206.

[p] Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.

† See the map.

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.

[r] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p 416.

[s] Herod. lib. 7. cap. 176.

[t] Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 558.

[u] Strab. lib. 7. p. 428. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.

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Scarcely have we left Alpenus, before we discover on the left, a stone consecrated to Hercules Melampygus; and fall in with a path which leads to the summit of the mountain [x]. Of this path I shall soon have occasion to speak.

Farther on, the traveller crosses a current of hot water, whence this place has acquired the name of Thermopylæ [y].

Near to this stream is the town of Anthela; and, in the plain which surrounds it, a small eminence [z], and a temple of Ceres, in which the Amphictyons annually hold one of their assemblies.

On coming out of the plain, we meet with a road, or rather causeway, only about seven or eight feet wide. This part is particularly to be noticed: the Phocians had formerly built a wall here, to protect their country from the inroads of the Thessalians [a].

After passing the Phœnix, which at last falls into the Asopus, a river that rises in an adjoining valley, we come to the last defile half a plethrum in breadth *.

The road then widens as far as Trachinia, which takes its name from the city of Trachis [b], and is inhabited by the Malians [c]. This country presents the traveller with extensive plains watered by the Sperchius and other rivers. To the east of Trachis now stands the city of Heraclea, which did not exist in the time of Xerxes [d].

The whole strait, from the defile before we arrive at Alpenus to that which is beyond the Phœnix, may be about forty-eight stadia in length †. Its breadth varies almost at every step; but through its whole extent it is shut in on one side by steep mountains, and on the other by the sea, or im-

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x Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 216.
y Id. ibid. cap. 176. Strab. Liv. &c.
z Id. ibid cap 225.
a Id. ibid. cap 176.
* Fifteen or sixteen yards.
b Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 199
c Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 92 Palmer. Exercit in Optim. Aut. p. 275.
d Id. ibid.
† About two leagues.

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penetrable morasses [e]. The road is often destroyed by the torrents, or by stagnant waters [f].

Leonidas posted his little army near Anthela [g], rebuilt the wall of the Phocians, and dispatched a few advanced troops to defend the approaches. But it was not sufficient to guard the passage at the foot of the mountain: there was on the mountain itself a path, which beginning at the plain of Trachis, terminated, after various windings, near the town of Alpenus. Leonidas intrusted the defence of this path to the thousand Phocians he had with him, and who took post on the heights of Mount Œta [h].

Scarcely were these dispositions completed, before the army of Xerxes was discovered, spreading itself over Trachinia, and covering the plain with its innumerable tents [i]. At sight of this, the Greeks deliberated on the measures to be adopted. The greater part of the generals were for retiring to the Isthmus; but Leonidas rejecting this counsel, they contented themselves with dispatching couriers, to hasten the succours of the allied cities [k].

A Persian horseman now appeared, sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre the enemy. The advanced post of the Greeks was that day composed of the Spartans, some of whom were exercising themselves in wrestling, others combing their hair: for, in similar dangers, their first care is to decorate their heads. The horseman was permitted to approach to number them, and to retire without any person deigning to pay attention to him. As the wall concealed from him the rest of the army, he only gave an account to Xerxes of the three hundred men he had seen at the entrance of the defile [l].

The king, astonished at the tranquillity of the Lacedæmonians, waited a few days to give them time for reflection [m]. On the fifth day, he wrote to Leonidas: "If thou wilt sub-

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e Pausan. lib. 10 p. 849.
f Strab. lib. 9 p. 428.
g Pausan. lib. 7: p. 558. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.
h Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 175 et 217.
i Id. ibid. cap. 201.
k Id. ibid. cap. 207.
l Id. ibid. cap. 208.

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mit to my power, I will give thee the empire of Greece." Leonidas anſwered: "I rather chooſe to die for, than to enſlave my country." A ſecond letter from the king contained only theſe words: "Surrender thy arms." Leonidas wrote underneath: "Come and take them [n]."

Xerxes, tranſported with rage, immediately gave orders for the Medes and Ciſſians to march [o], commanding them to take theſe men alive, and inſtantly to bring them to him. Some ſoldiers running to Leonidas, ſaid to him: "The Perſians are near us." To which he coolly replied: "Rather ſay, that we are near the Perſians [p]." He immediately advanced out of his entrenchment, with the choiceſt of his troops, and gave the ſignal for the battle. The Medes ruſhed on with fury; their firſt ranks fell covered with wounds; and thoſe who replaced them quickly experienced the ſame fate. The Greeks, preſſing cloſe againſt each other, and covered with large bucklers, preſented an impenetrable front of long pikes, and a phalanx which freſh troops ſucceſſively attempted in vain to break. After ſeveral fruitleſs attacks, the Medes were ſeized with a panic; they fled, and were relieved by the choſen body of the ten thouſand immortals commanded by Hydarnes [q]. The action now became more bloody: the valour each ſide diſplayed was perhaps equal; but the Greeks had in their favour the advantage of ſituation, and the ſuperiority of arms. The pikes of the Perſians were too ſhort, and their bucklers too ſmall [r]: they loſt a great number of men; and Xerxes, witneſs of their flight, leaped, as it is ſaid, more than once from his chariot, and trembled for his army.

The next day the attack was renewed, but with ſo little ſucceſs on the part of the Perſians, that Xerxes deſpaired of forcing the paſſage. His proud and puſillanimous mind was

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[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 210.
[n] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 210.
[p] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7.
[r] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 211.

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agitated by anxiety and ſhame, when an inhabitant of thoſe diſtricts, named Epialtes, came to diſcover to him the fatal path by which he might turn the Grecians. Xerxes, tranſported with joy, immediately detached Hydarnes with the corps of the immortals [s]. Epialtes ſerved them as a guide. They began their march as night came on, made their way through the foreſt of oaks which covered the ſides of the mountains, and arrived near the ſpot where Leonidas had poſted a detachment of his army.

Hydarnes took this for a body of Spartans, but, encouraged by Epialtes, who knew the Phocians, prepared to attack them. After a ſlight defence, they took refuge on the adjoining heights, leaving the Perſians to purſue their march.

During the night, Leonidas had been informed of their project by ſome deſerters who had eſcaped from the camp of Xerxes; and the next morning learned their ſucceſs by the arrival of the centinels ſtationed on the top of the mountain. At this dreadful news, the leaders of the Greeks aſſembled. As ſome of them were of opinion to retreat from Thermopylæ, and others to remain, Leonidas conjured them to reſerve themſelves for more fortunate opportunities, and declared that, as for himſelf and his companions, it was not permitted them to quit a poſt that Sparta had confided to their care [t]. The Theſpians proteſted that they would not abandon the Spartans; and the four hundred Thebans, whether voluntarily or through neceſſity, adopted the ſame reſolution [u]; the remainder of the army had time to march out of the deſile.

In the mean time Leonidas prepared for the moſt arduous of enterpriſes. "It is not here," ſaid he to his companions, "that we muſt combat: we muſt march to the tent of Xerxes, ſacrifice the invader, or periſh in the midſt of his camp." His

[s] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 215. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Strab. lib. 1. p. 10.
[t] Id. ibid. c. 220. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 11.
[u] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 222. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 865.

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ſoldiers anſwered only by a ſhout of joy. He then made them take a frugal repaſt, adding: "We ſhall ſoon take another with Pluto." Expreſſions like theſe could not but leave a profound impreſſion in their minds. When on the point of attacking the enemy, he was moved with the fate of two Spartans, united to him by blood and friendſhip; to the firſt he gave a letter, and to the ſecond a ſecret commiſſion for the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon. "We came not here," replied they, "to carry orders, but to fight;" and, without waiting for his anſwer, took their places in the ranks aſſigned to them [x].

In the middle of the night, the Greeks, with Leonidas at their head, iſſued out of the defile, advanced with haſty ſteps through the plain, overthrew the advanced poſts, and penetrated to the tent of Xerxes, who had already taken flight: they entered the adjoining tents, ſpread over the camp, and glutted themſelves with carnage. The terror they inſpired was increaſed at every ſtep, and every inſtant, with the moſt dreadful circumſtances. Confuſed rumours and lamentable cries affirmed that the troops of Hydarnes were cut off, and that the whole army muſt ſoon be deſtroyed by the combined forces of Greece. The moſt courageous of the Perſians, no longer able to hear the voice of their generals, nor knowing whether to bend their ſteps, or to direct their blows, threw themſelves at random into the battle, and were periſhing by the hands of each other, when the firſt rays of the ſun enabled them to diſcover the inconſiderable number of the victors. They inſtantly form, and attack the Greeks on all ſides. Leonidas falls beneath a ſhower of darts. The conteſt for the honour of carrying off his body, brought on a terrible conflict between his companions and the moſt expert and hardy warriors of the Perſian army. Two brothers of Xerxes, a multitude of Perſians, and ſeveral Spartans, there loſt their

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 8. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 866. Id. Lacon. Apoph. t. ii. p. 225. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 11.

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lives. At length the Greeks, though ſpent and enfeebled by their loſſes, carried off their general, four times repulſing the enemy in their retreat; and after regaining the defile, cleared the entrenchment, and took poſt on the little eminence near Anthela; where they ſtill defended themſelves for ſome time, both againſt the troops in their purſuit, and thoſe brought againſt them by Hydarnes from the other ſide of the ſtrait [y].

Pardon, generous ſhades, the feebleneſs of my expreſſions. I offered you a worthier homage when I viſited that eminence on which you breathed your laſt; when leaning on one of your tombs, I bathed with my tears the places ſtained with your blood. But, after all, what is it that eloquence can add to ſo ſublime and ſo extraordinary a ſacrifice? The memory of your heroic deeds will remain longer than the Perſian empire you reſiſted; and to the end of ages, your example will produce in every heart that loves his country the rapture or the enthuſiaſm of admiration.

Before the action was terminated, it is ſaid that ſome Thebans ſurrendered to the Perſians [z]. The Theſpians ſhared in the exploits and deſtiny of the Spartans, yet the glory of the Spartans has almoſt eclipſed that of the Theſpians. Amongſt the cauſes which have influenced the public opinion, it muſt be obſerved, that the reſolution to periſh at Thermopylæ was, with the former, a plan conceived, determined on, and purſued with as much coolneſs as conſtancy; whereas, it was but a ſally of bravery and virtue in the latter, when ſtimulated by example. The Theſpians only roſe ſuperior to other men, becauſe the Spartans roſe ſuperior to themſelves.

Lacedæmon prides herſelf in the death of her warriors. Every thing that relates to them juſtly engages the attention. Whilſt they were at Thermopylæ, a Trachinian, to impreſs them with a high idea of the numerous army of Xerxes, ſaid to them, that the number of their arrows was ſufficient to ob-

[y] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 225.

[z] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 233.

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ſcure the ſun. So much the better, replied the Spartan Dieneces; we ſhall then fight in the ſhade [a]. Another, ſent by Leonidas to Lacedæmon, was detained in the town of Alpenus by a defluction in his eyes. On being told that the detachment of Hydarnes was deſcending from the mountain, and entering the defile, he inſtantly flies to arms, orders his ſlave to conduct him to the enemy, attacks at random, and obtained the death to which he aſpired [b].

Two other Greeks, who had been abſent likewiſe by order of the general, were on their return, ſuſpected of not having exerted every effort to be preſent at the battle. Such a ſuſpicion covered them with infamy. The one ſlew himſelf; the only reſource of the other was to loſe his life, ſome time after, at the battle of Plataea [c].

The death of Leonidas and his companions produced a greater effect than that of the moſt brilliant victory; it taught the Greeks the ſecret of their power, and the Perſians that of their weakneſs [d]. Xerxes, diſmayed at finding himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of men, but ſo few ſoldiers, was not leſs alarmed to learn that Greece poſſeſſed a multitude of defenders, no leſs intrepid than the Theſpians, and eight thouſand Spartans as brave as thoſe who had now ſacrificed their lives [e]. On the other hand, the aſtoniſhment with which they had filled the Greeks ſoon changed into a violent deſire to imitate them. The ambition of glory, the love of country, all the virtues were carried to their higheſt elevation, and the minds of men exalted to a degree hitherto unknown. This was the time for great actions, and not a moment to be choſen for impoſing chains upon free nations.

While Xerxes was at Thermopylæ, his fleet, after meeting with a tempeſt on the coaſts of Magneſia, which deſtroyed four hundred galleys and a great number of tranſport veſ-

[a] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 226.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 229.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 231 et 232.
[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 10.
[e] Herodot. lib 7. cap. 210 et 234.

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ſels [f], had continued its courſe, and anchored near the city of Aphetæ, in the preſence of, and only at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia from that of the Greeks [g], ſtationed to defend the paſſage between Eubœa and the main land. Here, though with ſome variation in the ſucceſs, were repeated, both in the attack and the defence, ſeveral of the circumſtances which preceded and accompanied the attack of Thermopylæ [h].

The Greeks, at the approach of the enemy's fleet, reſolved to abandon the ſtrait; but Themiſtocles retained them [i]. Two hundred Perſian veſſels ſailed round the iſle of Eubœa, and were proceeding to ſhut in the Greeks, when a ſecond tempeſt daſhed them to pieces on the rocks [k]. During three days, ſeveral engagements took place, in which the Greeks almoſt always obtained the advantage: at length they learned that the paſs of Thermopylæ was forced, and immediately retreated to the iſle of Salamis [l].

During this retreat, Themiſtocles, landed on thoſe coaſts, to which the crews of the enemy's veſſels might be expected to reſort, on account of the ſprings of water: he there left inſcriptions, addreſſed to the Ionians in the army of Xerxes, reminding them, that they were the deſcendants of thoſe Greeks againſt whom they now bore arms. His intention was to induce them to abandon the party of that prince, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected [m].

In the mean time, the army of the Greeks took its ſtation on the iſthmus of Corinth, and now thought only of diſputing the entrance into Peloponneſus [n]. This project diſconcerted the views of the Athenians, who had hitherto flattered themſelves that Bœotia, not Attica, would be the ſeat of

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f Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 190.
g Id. lib. 8. cap. 8.
h Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
i Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 4 et 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
k Herodot. ibid. cap. 7 et 13.
l Id. lib. 8. cap. 21.
m Id. ibid. cap. 22. Juſtin. lib. 2 c. 12. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.
n Id. ibid. cap. 40. Iſocr. Paneg. t. 1. p. 166.

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war. Abandoned by their allies, perhaps they would have abandoned themselves; but Themistocles, who foresaw every future contingency, without dreading any, as he provided for every event, had adopted such prudent measures, that this very event served only to justify the system of defence he had conceived from the beginning of the Median war.

In public, and in private, he represented to the Athenians, that it was time to quit those places which the celestial vengeance had determined to resign to the fury of the Persians; that the fleet offered them a secure asylum, and that they would find a new home wherever they could preserve their liberty: these discourses he seconded by oracles, which he had obtained from the Pythia; and when the people were assembled, an incident contrived by Themistocles finally determined them to embrace his advice. Some priests declared, that the sacred serpent fed in the temple of Minerva had lately disappeared [o]. The goddess forsakes her abode, exclaimed they; why should we delay to follow her? The people immediately passed the following decree, proposed by Themistocles: "That the city should be put under the protection of Minerva; that all the inhabitants able to bear arms should go on board the ships; and that each individual should provide for the safety of his wife, his children, and slaves [p]." The people were so animated, that, on coming out of the assembly, they stoned Cyrsilus to death, who had ventured to propose submission to the Persians, and inflicted the same punishment on the wife of that orator [q].

The execution of this decree exhibited a most affecting scene. The inhabitants of Attica, obliged to quit their homes, their fields, the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their ancestors, made the plains resound with their doleful cries. The aged, whom their infirmities rendered it impossible to convey from the city, were unable to tear themselves from

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[o] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Plut. in Themist. p. 116.

[p] Plut. in Themist p. 116.

[q] Demosth. de Cor. p. 507.

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the arms of their disconsolate families; the men capable of serving the republic received on the sea shore the farewel and lamentations of their wives, their children, and those to whom they owed their being [r]: they made them hastily embark in vessels prepared to convey them to Ægina, Trœzene, and Salamis [s], and themselves immediately went on board the fleet, overwhelmed with an excess of affliction, which waited only for the moment of revenge.

Xerxes was at this time preparing to leave the straits of Thermopylæ: the flight of the Grecian fleet had restored to him all his haughtiness; he hoped to find among them that terror and discouragement which the slightest reverse of fortune occasioned in his own mind. Thus circumstanced, some Arcadian deserters repaired to his army, and were admitted to his presence. They were asked in what manner the states of Peloponnesus were employed. "They are celebrating the Olympic games," answered they, "and are busied in distributing crowns to the victors." One of the chiefs of the army instantly exclaiming, We are led then against men who fight only for glory! Xerxes reproached him with his cowardice; and considering the security of the Greeks as an insult, hastened his departure [t].

He entered into Phocis. The inhabitants determined to sacrifice every thing rather than betray the common cause: some took refuge on mount Parnassus; others in a neighbouring state; their fields were ravaged, and their cities destroyed by fire and sword. Bœotia submitted, except Platæa and Thespiæ, which were razed to their foundations [u].

After having laid waste Attica, Xerxes entered Athens, where he found a few wretched old men expecting death, and a small number of citizens, who, on the faith of some ill interpreted oracles, had resolved to defend the citadel: for se-

[r] Plut. in Themist. p. 117.
[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Pausan. lib. 2. p. 185.
[t] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 26.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 50.

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veral days they repulsed the redoubled attacks of the besiegers; but, in the end, some threw themselves from the top of the walls, and others were massacred in the holy places, where they had in vain sought for an asylum. The city was abandoned to pillage, and devoted to the flames [x].

The Persian fleet lay at anchor in the road of Phalerum [y], distant twenty stadia from Athens *; that of the Greeks along the coasts of Salamis. This island, situated opposite to Eleusis †, forms a spacious bay, which is entered by two straits; the one to the eastward on the side of Attica; the other to the west on that of Megaris. The former, at the entrance of which is the little island Psyttalia, may, in some places, be from seven to eight stadia in breadth ‡, and in others much wider; the latter is not so broad.

The burning of Athens made such an impression on the Greeks, that the greater part of them resolved to approach the isthmus of Corinth, where the land troops were intrenched. Their departure was fixed for the next day [z].

During the night §, Themistocles waited on Eurybiades, the commander in chief of the fleet [a], and warmly represented to him, that if, in the consternation that had taken possession of the soldiers, he conducted them to places favourable to desertion, as his authority would not be sufficient to keep them on board the vessels, he would soon find himself without an army, and Greece be deprived of all defence.

In consequence of this suggestion, Eurybiades summoned his generals to the council. All of them exclaimed against the proposition of Themistocles; all, irritated at his obstinacy, proceeded to offensive language and insulting menaces. While he was repelling with anger these indecent and tumul-

[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 53. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887.

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 619.

* A short league.

† See the plan of the battle of Salamis.

‡ Nearly a mile.

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 56.

§ The night between the 18th and 19th of October of the year 480 before Christ.

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 57.

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[lib. 11. p. 13.

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tuous attacks, he saw the Lacedæmonian general approach him, with his uplifted cane. He made a pause, and said to him without emotion, "Strike, but hear[b]." This greatness of mind astonished the Spartan, and occasioned a general silence; when Themistocles resuming his superiority, but carefully avoiding to throw the least suspicion on the fidelity of the chiefs and troops, drew a lively picture of the advantages of the post they occupied, and the dangers of that they wished to take: "Here," said he, enclosed within a strait, we shall present a front equal to that of the enemy. Further on, the innumerable fleet of the Persians, having room to extend itself, will surround us on all sides. By fighting at Salamis, we shall preserve that island, in which are our wives and children; we shall preserve the island of Ægina, and the city of Megara, whose inhabitants are members of the confederation; if we retire to the isthmus, we shall lose these important places, and you, Eurybiades, will have to reproach yourself with having drawn the enemy on the coasts of Peloponnesus[c]."

At these words, Adimantus, chief of the Corinthians, an avowed Partisan of the contrary opinion, again had recourse to insult. "Is it for a man," said he, "who has neither home nor habitation, to give laws to Greece? Let Themistocles reserve his councils for the time when he shall be able to flatter himself he has a country."——"What then!" exclaims Themistocles, "shall any man dare, in the presence of the Greeks, to impute to us as a crime, that we have abandoned a useless pile of stones to avoid slavery! Wretched Adimantus! Athens is destroyed, but the Athenians still exist; they possess a country a thousand times more flourishing than yours, in these two hundred vessels that belong to them, and which I command: I still offer them; but they shall remain where they now are. If their assistance be refused, be the

[b] Plut. in Themistocl. p. 117.

[c] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.

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Greek, who now hears me, whom he may, he ſhall ſoon learn that the Athenians poſſeſs a city more opulent, and fields more fertile, than thoſe which they have loſt [d]." And addreſſing himſelf immediately to Eurybiades, "It now," ſaid he, "lies with you to chooſe between the honour of ſaving Greece, or the diſgrace of having cauſed its ruin. I only declare to you, that after your departure, we will embark our wives and children, and proceed to Italy, to found a power heretofore promiſed us by the oracle. When you ſhall have loſt ſuch allies as the Athenians, you will perhaps call to remembrance the words of Themiſtocles [e]."

The commanding firmneſs of the Athenian general was of ſuch effect, that Eurybiades gave orders that the fleet ſhould not quit the ſhores of Salamis.

Similar conſultations were held at the ſame time in both the fleets. Xerxes had convoked on board one of his veſſels the leaders of the particular diviſions of which his naval armament was compoſed. Theſe were the kings of Sidon, Tyre, Cilicia, Cyprus, and a number of other petty ſovereigns or deſpots, dependants or tributaries of Perſia. In this auguſt aſſembly appeared alſo Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus and ſome neighbouring iſlands; a princeſs whom none of the generals ſurpaſſed in courage, nor equalled in prudence [f], who had followed Xerxes without compulſion, and might ſpeak the truth to him without giving him offence.

When the generals were aſſembled, and had taken their places according to their ranks, the queſtion for deliberation was propoſed, which was, whether they ſhould make a new attack on the Grecian fleet. Mardonius aroſe to collect the ſuffrages.

The king of Sidon, and the greater part of thoſe who voted after him, being informed of the intentions of the great king, declared themſelves for the battle. But Artemiſia thus

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[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 62.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 101.

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addreſſed Mardonius: "Repeat preciſely to Xerxes what I am now about to ſay to you:—My lord, after what paſſed in the late naval fight, no perſon will ſuſpect me of weakneſs or of cowardice. My zeal this day obliges me to give you a ſalutary counſel. Do not hazard a battle, the conſequences of which would be uſeleſs or fatal to your glory. Is not the principal object of your expedition accompliſhed? You are maſter of Athens, and you will ſoon be ſo of the reſt of Greece. By keeping your fleet in action, that of your enemies, which is provided with ſubſiſtence only for a few days, will of itſelf diſperſe. Do you wiſh to accelerate that moment; ſend your veſſels to the coaſts of Peloponneſus; conduct your land forces towards the iſthmus of Corinth, and you will ſee the Grecian troops fly to the ſuccour of their country. I dread a battle, becauſe, ſo far from procuring advantages, it would endanger both your armies; I dread it, becauſe I know the ſuperiority of the Grecian navy. You are, my lord, the beſt of maſters; but you have very wretched ſervants. And what confidence, after all, can you place in that crowd of Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and Pamphilians, who fill the greateſt part of your veſſels [g]?"

Mardonius having collected all the voices, made his report to Xerxes, who, after laviſhing the higheſt encomiums on the queen of Halicarnaſſus, endeavoured to reconcile the advice of that princeſs with the opinion of the majority of the council. He gave orders that the fleet ſhould advance towards the iſle of Salamis, while the army marched towards the iſthmus of Corinth [h].

This ſtep produced the effect foreſeen by Artemiſia. The greater part of the generals of the Grecian fleet exclaimed that it was now time to haſten to the ſuccour of Peloponneſus. The oppoſition of the Æginetæ, Megareans, and Athenians, protracted the deliberation; but Themiſtocles at

[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 68.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 69 et 71.

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length perceiving that the contrary opinion was prevalent in the council [i], made a laſt effort to prevent its conſequences.

A man was ſent during the night * to give information from him to the chiefs of the enemy's fleet, that part of the Greeks, and a general of the Athenians at their head, were diſpoſed to declare in favour of the king; that the remainder, ſeized with conſternation, were meditating a haſty retreat; and that, enfeebled as they were by diviſions, if they ſaw themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Perſian forces, they would be compelled to lay down their arms, or turn them againſt themſelves [k].

The Perſians immediately advanced, under favour of the darkneſs, and, after blocking up the avenues by which the Greeks might have eſcaped [l], they ſtationed four hundred men [m] in the iſland of Pſyttalia, ſituated between the continent and the eaſtern point of Salamis; at which place the battle was to be fought [n].

At this moment Ariſtides, whom Themiſtocles had ſome time before reſtored to the wiſhes of the Athenians [o], croſſed from the iſle of Ægina to the Grecian fleet: he had perceived this movement of the Perſians; and, as ſoon as he arrived at Salamis, repaired to the place where the generals were aſſembled, ſent for Themiſtocles, and ſaid to him: "It is time to forget our idle and puerile diſſenſions. One only intereſt ought to animate us this day, that of ſaving Greece, you by giving orders, and I by carrying them into execution. Tell the Greeks that deliberation now is out of the queſtion, and that the enemy has juſt made himſelf maſter of the paſſages that might favour their flight." Themiſtocles, much affected with the noble conduct of Ariſtides, diſcovered to him the ſtratagem he had employed to induce the Perſians to act as

i Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 156.

* In the night between the 19th and 20th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt.

k Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 75. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14. Plut. in Them. p. 118. Nep in Themiſt. cap. 4.

l Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 366. Diod. ibid.

m Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 36. p. 88.

n Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 76.

o Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

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they had done, and begged him to enter the council[p]. The relation of Ariſtides, confirmed by other witneſſes who ſucceſſively arrived, broke up the aſſembly, and the Greeks prepared for battle.

By the reinforcements which had been received by both fleets, that of the Perſians amounted to twelve hundred and ſeven veſſels, and that of the Greeks to three hundred and eighty[q]. At break of day, Themiſtocles embarked his ſoldiers. The Grecian fleet formed in the eaſtern ſtrait: the Athenians were on the right[r], and oppoſite to the Phœnicians; the left, compoſed of Lacedæmonians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, was oppoſed to the Ionians[s].

Xerxes wiſhing to animate his army by his preſence, placed himſelf upon a neighbouring eminence, ſurrounded by ſecretaries, who were to deſcribe all the circumſtances of the engagement[t]. As ſoon as he appeared, the two wings of the Perſians began to move, and advanced as far as beyond the iſland of Pſyttalia. They preſerved their lines as long as they were able to extend them; but were compelled to break their order, as they approached the iſland and the continent[u]. Beſides this diſadvantage, they had to contend with a contrary wind[x], and the heavineſs of their veſſels, which were extremely unwieldy in manœuvring, and which, ſo far from being able mutually to ſupport, were perpetually embarraſſing and ſtriking againſt each other.

The fate of the battle depended on the operations of the right wing of the Greeks, and of the Perſian left. There were placed the choiceſt forces of both fleets. The Phœnicians and Athenians alternately preſſed and repulſed each other in the ſtrait. Ariabignes, one of the brothers of Xerxes, conducted the former to the combat, as if he had

[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 118; in Ariſt. p. 323.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 184. Id. lib. 8. cap. 66 et 82.
[r] Id. lib. 8. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 85.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 69 et 90. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 118.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[x] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 119.

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been leading them to victory. Themistocles was present every where, and braved every danger. Whilst he was reanimating or moderating the ardour of his troops, Ariabignes advanced, and showered on him, as from the summit of a rampart, a cloud of darts and arrows. At the very instant, an Athenian galley rushed with impetuosity on the Phœnician admiral; and the indignant young prince, leaping on board the galley, fell immediately covered with wounds[y].

The death of their leader spread consternation among the Phœnicians, and the multiplicity of chiefs created a confusion that accelerated their destruction: their huge vessels driven on the rocks of the adjacent coasts, dashed against each other, and their sides laid open by the beaks of the Athenian galleys, covered the sea with wrecks; even the succours that were sent them served only to increase their confusion[z]. In vain did the Cypriots and the other nations of the east attempt to renew the battle: after a long resistance, they dispersed, and followed the example of the Phœnicians[a].

Not content with this advantage, Themistocles led his victorious wing to the succour of the Lacedæmonians and the other allies, who were defending themselves against the Ionians. As the latter had read the inscriptions left by Themistocles on the coasts of Eubœa, exhorting them to forsake the party of the Persians, it is alleged that some of them joined the Greeks during the engagement, or were only attentive to spare them. It is certain, however, that they in general fought with valour, nor thought of a retreat till they were attacked by the whole of the Grecian fleet. At this juncture Artemisia, surrounded by enemies, and on the point of falling into the hands of an Athenian in close pursuit of her, had recourse to the expedient of sinking a vessel of the Persian fleet. The Athenian, persuaded by this manœuvre

[y] Plut. in Themistocl. p. 119. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 89.

[z] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 413. Herod. lib. 8. cap. 80.

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.

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that the queen had deſerted the cauſe of the Perſians, deſiſted from the purſuit; and Xerxes, ſuppoſing that the veſſel he ſaw ſink belonged to the Greeks, could not refrain from remarking, that on this day the men had behaved like women, and the women like men [b].

The Perſian fleet retired to the port of Phalerum [c]. Two hundred of their veſſels had been deſtroyed, and a great number taken: the Greeks loſt only forty galleys [d]. The battle was fought on the twentieth of Boedromion, in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad *.

The names of the nations and individuals who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt are ſtill preſerved. Among the former were the Æginetæ and the Athenians; among the latter, Polycritus of Ægina, and two Athenians, Eumenes and Aminias [e].

During the continuance of the battle, Xerxes was agitated by joy, apprehenſion, and deſpair. He alternately laviſhed promiſes, and dictated ſanguinary orders; making his ſecretaries enregiſter the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in the action, and his ſlaves put to death the officers who approached him to juſtify their conduct [f]. At length, no longer ſupported by hope or rage, he ſunk into a ſtate of profound dejection; and, though he had forces ſufficient to ſubdue the world, he ſaw his fleet ready to revolt, and the Greeks preparing to burn the bridge of boats he had thrown over the Helleſpont. A ſpeedy flight might have delivered him from theſe idle terrors [g]; but ſome remains of a ſenſe of decency or pride not allowing him to manifeſt ſo much weakneſs in the ſight of his enemies and courtiers, he ordered preparations to be made for a new attack, and a cauſeway to be formed to join the iſland of Salamis to the continent.

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[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 88.
[c] Id. ibid. cap 91 et 93.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
* The 20th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt. Dodwell. in Thucyd. p. 49.
[e] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 93.
[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 97.

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He next ſent away a courier to Suſa, as he had diſpatched one after the taking of Athens. On the arrival of the firſt, the inhabitants of that vaſt city flocked to the temples, and burnt perfumes in the ſtreets ſtrewed over with myrtle branches; on the arrival of the ſecond, they rent their garments, and every place reſounded with cries, groans, exclamations of fear for the ſafety of the king, and imprecations againſt Mardonius, the firſt author of the war [h].

The Perſians and Greeks were in expectation of a new battle; but Mardonius was by no means ſatisfied with the orders given by Xerxes: he read in the ſoul of that prince nothing but the meaneſt ſentiments combined with projects of revenge, to which he poſſibly might fall a victim. "My lord," ſaid he, approaching him, "deign to recal your courage: your expectations were not founded on your fleet, but on that formidable army with which you have intruſted me. The Greeks are no more able to reſiſt you now than heretofore: nothing can ſhelter them from the puniſhment due to their ancient offences, and the fruitleſs advantage they have lately gained. If we determine on a retreat, we ſhall for ever be the objects of their deriſion; and the opprobrium that has fallen on the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and other nations who fought on board your veſſels, will recoil on your faithful Perſians. Suffer me to propoſe another method to ſave their glory and your own: I would adviſe you to lead back the greater part of your troops to Perſia, and leave me three hundred thouſand men, with whom I ſhall be able to reduce all Greece [i].

Xerxes, who in his own mind was rejoiced at the propoſal, aſſembled his council, admitted to it Artemiſia, and requeſted her opinion on the project of Mardonius. The queen, diſguſted no doubt with ſerving ſuch a prince, and perſuaded that there are conjunctures in which to deliberate implies a

[h] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 99.

[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 100. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 13.

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previous resolution, advised him to return as soon as possible to his dominions. I shall report part of her answer, to give an idea of the language of the court of Susa: "Leave to Mardonius the care of completing your work. If he succeeds, yours will be all the glory; if he perishes, or is defeated, your empire will not, on that account, be shaken, nor Persia consider the loss of a battle as any great misfortune, when you shall have secured your person [k]."

Xerxes no longer made any delay. His fleet had orders to repair immediately to the Hellespont, and watch over the preservation of the bridge of boats [l]; that of the Greeks pursued it as far as the isle of Andros. Themistocles and the Athenians wished to come up with it, and then burn the bridge; but Eurybiades strongly representing, that far from shutting up the Persians in Greece, it was their interest, if possible, to procure them new passages to facilitate their retreat, the army of the allies suspended the pursuit, and soon after proceeded to the port of Pagasa, where it passed the winter.

Themistocles now procured secret intelligence to be conveyed to Xerxes. Some allege, that wishing, in case of his disgrace, to secure himself an asylum at the court of that prince, he made a merit of having diverted the Greeks from their intended project of burning the bridge [m]. According to others, he warned the king, that, unless he hastened his departure, the Greeks would cut off his retreat to Asia [n]. Be this as it may, some days after the battle, the king took the road to Thessaly, where Mardonius sent into winter quarters the three hundred thousand men he had demanded and chosen from the whole army [o]: thence pursuing

k Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 102.
l Id. ibid. cap. 107.
m Id. ibid. cap. 110.
n Plut. in Themist. p. 120. Nep. in Themist. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
o Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 113.

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his route, he arrived on the borders of the Hellespont with a very inconsiderable number of troops [p]; the remainder, for want of provisions, had perished by disorders, or dispersed themselves over Macedonia and Thrace. To complete his misfortune, the bridge no longer remained, having been destroyed by a tempest. The king threw himself into a boat, passed the sea as a fugitive *, about six months after he had crossed it as a conqueror [q], and repaired to Phrygia to build sumptuous palaces, which he studiously took care to fortify [r].

The first care of the victors, after the battle, was to transmit to Delphi the first fruits of the spoils they had divided: the generals next proceeded to the isthmus of Corinth; and, agreeably to a custom respectable from its antiquity, and still more so from the emulation it inspires, assembled near the altar of Neptune, to decree crowns to those among them who had most contributed to the victory. The decision was not pronounced, each of the chiefs adjudging the first prize to himself, whilst the greater part of them allowed the second to be due to Themistocles.

Though, in consequence, it was impossible to dispute with him the first in the opinion of the public, he wished to obtain an effective testimony in his favour from the Spartans, who received him at Lacedæmon with that high respect they themselves merited, and made him a participator in the honours they decreed to Eurybiades. A crown of olive was the reward of both. At his departure he received new applauses: a present was made him of the most beautiful chariot to be found in Lacedæmon; and to bestow on him a distinction equally novel and illustrious, three hundred youths on horseback, chosen from the first families of Sparta, were ordered to accompany him to the frontiers of Laconia [s].

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[p] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 115.

* The 4th of December of the year 480 before Christ. Dodwell, p. 50.

[q] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 51 et 115.

[r] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 246.

[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 124.

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In the mean time, Mardonius was preparing to terminate a war so disgraceful to Persia: he added fresh troops to those left him by Xerxes, without perceiving that to increase their number was to enfeeble them; he by turns solicited all the oracles of Greece [t]; he sent defiances to the allied nations, and proposed to them for the field of battle the plains of Bœotia, or those of Thessaly: in fine, resolving to detach the Athenians from the league, he sent to Athens Alexander king of Macedonia, who was connected with them by the ties of hospitality [u].

This prince, admitted to the assembly of the people at the same time with the ambassadors of Lacedæmon commissioned to frustrate the negociation, spoke as follows: "Thus saith Mardonius: I have received an order from the king conceived in these words—I forget the offences of the Athenians. Mardonius, execute my will; restore to that people their lands; give them others, if they desire it; preserve to them their laws, and rebuild the temples I have burnt. I thought proper to inform you of the intentions of my master; and I add, it is a folly on your part to attempt to resist the Persians; and a still greater folly to pretend to resist them long. If we even suppose, contrary to all probability, that you should gain the victory, another army would soon deprive you of the honour. Rush not therefore on destruction; but let a treaty of peace concluded with mutual security, rescue from danger your honour and your liberty." Alexander, after relating this message, laboured to convince the Athenians that they were not in a condition to contend with the power of Persia, and conjured them to prefer the friendship of Xerxes to every other interest [x].

"Listen not to the perfidious counsels of Alexander, exclaimed the ambassadors from Lacedæmon. He is a tyrant who serves another tyrant: by an unworthy artifice he has

[t] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 133.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 136.
[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 140.

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falſified the inſtructions of Mardonius. The offers he makes you on his part are too ſeducing not to be ſuſpicious. You cannot accept them, without trampling under foot the laws of juſtice and of honour. Was it not you by whom this war was kindled? And ſhall thoſe Athenians who have at all times ſhown themſelves the moſt zealous defenders of liberty, be the firſt authors of our ſlavery? Lacedæmon, who makes theſe repreſentations to you by our mouths, commiſerates the wretched ſtate to which your ruined houſes and your ravaged fields reduce you: ſhe propoſes to you, in her name, and in the name of her allies, to maintain, and preſerve for you in truſt, for the remainder of the war, your wives, your children, and your ſlaves [y]."

The Athenians propoſed the matter for deliberation; and, agreeable to the opinion of Ariſtides, it was reſolved to anſwer the king of Macedonia, that he might have diſpenſed with his intelligence, that their forces were inferior to thoſe of the enemy, but that they were not on that account leſs diſpoſed to make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance to the barbarians; and counſelled him, when he had ſuch baſe propoſitions to offer to them in future, not to appear in their preſence, nor expoſe them to violate, in his perſon, the rights of hoſpitality and friendſhip [z].

It was alſo determined that they ſhould anſwer to the Lacedæmonians, that if Sparta had known the Athenians better, ſhe would not have ſuppoſed them capable of ſuch treachery, nor have endeavoured to retain them in her alliance by intereſted motives; that they would provide, as well as they could, for the neceſſities of their families, and thanked the allies for their generous offers; that they were attached to the league by ſacred and indiſſoluble ties, and that the only favour they demanded of the allies, was to ſend them ſpeedy ſuc-

[y] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 142.

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 143. Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 156.

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cours, as it was time to march into Bœotia, and prevent the enemy from penetrating a ſecond time into Attica [a].

The ambaſſadors being again admitted, Ariſtides cauſed the decrees to be read in their preſence; then ſuddenly raiſing his voice, "Ambaſſadors of Lacedæmon," ſaid he, "inform the Spartans, that all the gold that circulates on the earth, or that ſtill lies hidden within its bowels, is nothing in our eyes to the value of our liberty. And you, Alexander, addreſſing himſelf to that prince, and pointing to the ſun, ſay to Mardonius, that as long as yon luminary ſhall revolve in the path marked out for him in the heavens, the Athenians will purſue the king of Perſia, till they ſhall have ſatisfied the vengeance due to their deſolated fields, and their temples reduced to aſhes [b]." To give ſtill greater ſolemnity to this engagement, he inſtantly procured a decree to be paſſed, by which the prieſts ſhould devote to the infernal deities all thoſe who maintained a correſpondence with the Perſians, or detached themſelves from the confederation of the Greeks.

Mardonius, informed of the reſolution of the Athenians, inſtantly marched his troops into Bœotia, and thence poured them into Attica, the inhabitants of which, a ſecond time, took refuge in the iſle of Salamis [c]. He was ſo flattered with gaining poſſeſſion of a deſerted country, that by ſignals placed from diſtance to diſtance, either on the iſles or continent, he gave notice of it to Xerxes, who was ſtill at Sardes in Lydia [d]: he attempted likewiſe to avail himſelf of this ſucceſs, to open a new negociation with the Athenians; but he received the ſame anſwer as before; and Lycidas, one of the ſenators, who had propoſed to liſten to the offers of the Perſian general, was ſtoned to death with his wife and children [e].

In the mean time, the allies, inſtead of ſending an army, as had been agreed on, into Attica, fortified themſelves on the

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 144.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 143. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 324.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.
[d] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 5.

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Isthmus of Corinth, and appeared attentive only to the defence of the Peloponnesus [f]. The Athenians, alarmed at this project, sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, where festivals were celebrating which were to last for some days: they made known their complaints, but the answer was deferred from day to day. Offended at length with an inaction and a silence which too justly entitled them to suspect some perfidy, they presented themselves, for the last time, to the ephori, and declared that Athens, betrayed by the Lacedæmonians, and abandoned by the other allies, was resolved to turn her arms against them, by making her peace with the Persians.

The ephori replied, that the preceding night they had sent off, under the conduct of Pausanias, guardian of the young king Plistarchus, five thousand Spartans, and thirty-five thousand slaves, or Helots, lightly armed [g]. These troops, which were presently increased by five thousand Lacedæmonians, forming a junction with the confederated cities, marched from Eleusis, and proceeded into Bœotia, whither Mardonius had brought back his army [h].

He had prudently avoided coming to an engagement in Attica. As that country is intersected by heights and defiles, he would neither have had it in his power to extend his cavalry in the battle, nor to secure a retreat in case of a defeat. Bœotia, on the contrary, afforded spacious plains, a fertile country, and a number of cities ready to receive the remains of his army; for, excepting the inhabitants of Platæa and Thespiæ, all the states of that part of Greece had declared in favour of the Persians.

Mardonius pitched his camp in the plain of Thebes, along the river Asopus, the left bank of which he occupied as far as the frontiers of the country of the Platæans *. To enclose his baggage, and secure to himself a place of retreat, he caused

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[f] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 6.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 11.
[h] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 19.
* See plan of the battle of Platæa.

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a ſpace of ten ſtadia ſquare *, to be ſurrounded with a deep ditch, and likewiſe with walls and wooden towers [i]. The Greeks were in his front, at the foot and on the declivity of Mount Cithæron. Ariſtides commanded the Athenians, and Pauſanias the whole army †.

Here the generals drew up the following form of an oath, which was taken with eagerneſs by the ſoldiers: "I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders, neither during their lives, nor after their death; I will beſtow the honours of ſepulture on ſuch of the allies as ſhall fall in the battle: after the victory, I will deſtroy none of thoſe cities which ſhall have fought for Greece, and I will decimate all thoſe which ſhall have joined the enemy. I will not attempt to rebuild the temples they have burnt or demoliſhed, but ſuffer their ruins to remain, perpetually to remind our poſterity of the impious fury of the barbarians [k]."

An anecdote reported by an author almoſt contemporary with theſe events, may enable us to judge of the idea the greater part of the Perſians entertained of their general. Mardonius ſupped with an inhabitant of Thebes, with fifty of his general officers, as many Thebans, and Therſander, one of the principal citizens of Orchomenus. Towards the end of the entertainment, mutual confidence having taken place between the gueſts of both nations, a Perſian ſeated near Therſander, ſaid to him: "This table, the pledge of our faithful friendſhip, theſe libations we have made together in honour of the gods, inſpire me with a ſecret friendſhip for you. It is time to look to your ſafety: you ſee theſe Perſians who are abandoning themſelves to tranſports of joy; you have ſeen that army we have left on the banks of the river; alas! you will ſoon behold only its ſhattered remains." As he ſpake

* Above a mile. See table IX. vol. iv.

i Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 15. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 325.

† The two armies came in ſight of each other the 10th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

k Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.

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these words he shed tears. Thersander surprised, asked him if he had communicated his apprehensions to Mardonius, or those whom he honoured with his confidence. "My dear host," replied the stranger, "man cannot avoid his destiny. Numbers of Persians, like me, have foreseen that which is hanging over them, and we all suffer ourselves to be hurried on by fatality. The greatest misfortune of mankind is, that the wisest amongst them are always those who have the least influence [l]." The author I have quoted received this anecdote from Thersander himself.

Mardonius, perceiving that the Greeks persisted in maintaining the heights, sent against them his whole cavalry, commanded by Masistius, who stood in the highest degree of favour with Xerxes, and was held in universal estimation by the army. The Persians, after insulting the Greeks with reproaches of cowardice, fell on the Megareans encamped on a more level spot of ground, who, with the assistance of three hundred Athenians, made a considerably long resistance. The death of Masistius saved them from a total defeat, and terminated the action. This loss was a subject of mourning for the Persian army, and of triumph for the Greeks, who saw the body of Masistius, which they had carried off from the enemy, pass along all their ranks [m].

Notwithstanding this advantage, the difficulty of procuring water, in presence of an enemy who kept at a distance by their darts, all who attempted to approach the river, obliged them to change their position: they filed off along Mount Cithæron, and entered the country of the Platæans.

The Lacedæmonians posted themselves near a copious spring, named Gargaphia, which sufficed for the wants of the whole army: the other allies in general were stationed on the eminences at the foot of the mountain; some of them in the plain, and all in front of the Asopus.

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[l] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 16.

[m] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 22, &c. Diod. Sic. l. 11. p. 24. Plut. in Arist. p. 327.

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During this distribution of posts, a sharp dispute arose between the Athenians and Tegeatæ, who claimed equally the command of the left wing: both recounted their titles and the exploits of their ancestors. But Aristides terminated the difference. "We come not here," said he, "to contest with our allies, but to combat our enemies; we declare that it is not the post that confers or takes away valour. To you, O Lacedæmonians! we refer. Whatever rank you shall assign us, we will raise it to such a height that it will become perhaps the most honourable of all." The Lacedæmonians decided with acclamations in favour of the Athenians [n].

A more imminent danger caused the prudence of Aristides a still severer trial: he learned that some officers of his troops, belonging to the first families of Athens, were meditating an act of treachery in favour of the Persians, and that the conspiracy was daily gaining ground. Far from rendering it more formidable by inquiries which might have apprized the conspirators of their strength, he contented himself with arresting eight of the accomplices. The two most guilty fled. To the others he said, showing them the enemy: "The blood of the Persians alone can expiate your offence [o]."

Mardonius no sooner learned that the Greeks had retired into the territory of Platæa, than, marching his army up the river, he stationed it a second time within sight of the enemy. It consisted of three hundred thousand men drawn from the Asiatic nations, and about fifty thousand Bœotians, Thessalians, and other Grecian auxiliaries [p]. That of the confederates was about a hundred and ten thousand strong, sixty-nine thousand five hundred of whom were only lightly armed [q]. This army consisted of ten thousand Spartans and Lacedæmonians, eight thousand Athenians, five thousand Corinthians, three thousand Megareans, and various little detachments furnished

[n] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Plut. in Arist. p. 326.
[o] Plut. in Arist. p. 326.
[p] Herod. lib. 9. cap. 32.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 30.

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by ſeveral other ſtates or cities of Greece [r]. New levies were every day arriving. The Mantineans and the Eleans did not reach the camp till after the battle.

The armies had been within ſight of each other eight days, when a detachment of Perſian cavalry, paſſing the Aſopus in the night, intercepted a convoy from Peloponneſus which was deſcending from Mount Cithæron. The Perſians made themſelves maſters of this paſs *, and the Greeks were cut off from their proviſions [s].

The two following days their camp was inſulted by the cavalry of the enemy. Neither of the armies dared to paſs the river. The augur, on both ſides, whether of his own accord, or acted upon by foreign impreſſions, promiſed the victory reſpectively to his party, provided they kept on the defenſive [t].

On the eleventh day, Mardonius aſſembled his council †. Artabazus, one of the firſt officers of the army, propoſed to retire under the walls of Thebes, and not to riſk a battle, but to corrupt, by dint of money, the chief inhabitants of the allied cities. This meaſure, which was much approved by the Thebans, would inſenſibly have detached from the confederation the greater part of the ſtates of which it was compoſed; beſides that, the Grecian army, which was already in want of proviſions, would have been compelled in a few days to diſperſe, or give battle in the plain, which it had hitherto induſtriouſly avoided. Mardonius, however, rejected this propoſition with diſdain.

The following night ‡ a horſeman, eſcaping from the Perſian camp, and advancing towards the quarter of the Athenians, deſired them to inform their general that he had an important ſecret to communicate; and when Ariſtides arrived,

[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 28.

* The 17th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Ann. Thucyd. p. 52.

[s] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 39.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 36 et 37.

† The 20th of September. Id. ibid.

‡ The night between the 20th and the 21ſt of September.

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this ſtranger thus addreſſed him: Mardonius in vain wearies the gods to procure favourable auſpices; their ſilence has hitherto retarded the battle. But the efforts of the augurs can no longer detain him. He will attack you to-morrow at break of day. I hope after your victory you will remember that I have riſked my life to ſecure you from a ſurpriſe: I am Alexander, king of Macedonia." Having thus ſpoken, he returned full ſpeed to the camp [u].

Ariſtides immediately repaired to the quarter of the Lacedæmonians. The moſt prudent plans were there concerted to repulſe the enemy; and Pauſanias adviſed a meaſure that Ariſtides himſelf had not dared to propoſe; which was to ſtation the Athenians oppoſite to the Perſians, and the Lacedæmonians to the Grecian auxiliaries. By this means, ſaid he, we ſhall both of us have to combat troops who have already experienced our valour. This reſolution taken, the Athenians, at the break of day, paſſed to the right wing, and the Lacedæmonians to the left. Mardonius penetrating their deſigns, inſtantly cauſed the Perſians to file off to his right, and did not recal them to their former poſt till he ſaw the enemy return to their firſt order of battle [x].

This general conſidered the motions of the Lacedæmonians only as ſigns of fear. In the intoxication of his pride he tauntingly reminded them of their ancient glory, and ſent them inſulting defiances. A herald diſpatched by him to Pauſanias, carried a propoſal to terminate the differences of Perſia and Greece, by a combat between a certain number of Spartans and Perſians. Receiving no anſwer, he put all his cavalry in motion, which haraſſed the army of the Greeks during the remainder of the day, and even found means to dam up the fountain of Gargaphia [y].

Deprived of this their only reſource, the Greeks determined to remove their camp a little farther, and retire to an

[u] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 327.
[x] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 46. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 328.
[y] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 49. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.

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island formed by two branches of the Asopus, one of which is named Peroe [a]; from whence they proposed to detach half their troops to the pass of Mount Cithæron, to dislodge the Persians who intercepted their convoys.

The camp broke up during the night *, with all the confusion to be expected from the troops of so many independent states, cooled by inaction, and alarmed by their frequent retreats, as well as the scarcity of provisions: some repaired to the post assigned them; others, led astray by their guides, or by a panic terror, took refuge near the city of Platæa [a].

The departure of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians was delayed till dawn. The latter took the road of the plain; while the Lacedæmonians, followed by three thousand Tegeatæ, filed along the foot of Mount Cithæron. Having arrived at the temple of Ceres, ten stadia from their former position, and at the same distance from the city of Platæa [b], they halted for one of their body who had long refused to abandon his post. Here they were overtaken by the Persian cavalry, detached by Mardonius to impede their march. "Behold them," exclaimed this general to his officers; "behold those intrepid Lacedæmonians, who, we were told, never retreat in presence of an enemy: that vile people, distinguished from the other Greeks, only by excess of cowardice, and who will soon suffer the punishment they justly merit [c]."

Immediately putting himself at the head of the warlike nation of the Persians, and of his best soldiers, he passed the river and advanced rapidly into the plain. The troops of the other eastern nations tumultuously followed him, uttering loud shouts; and at the same instant his right wing, composed of the auxiliary Greeks, attacked the Athenians, and prevented them from affording any assistance to the Lacedæmonians.

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[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 51. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.

* The night between the 21st and 22d of September.

[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 52.

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 57.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 58.

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f°. 4.

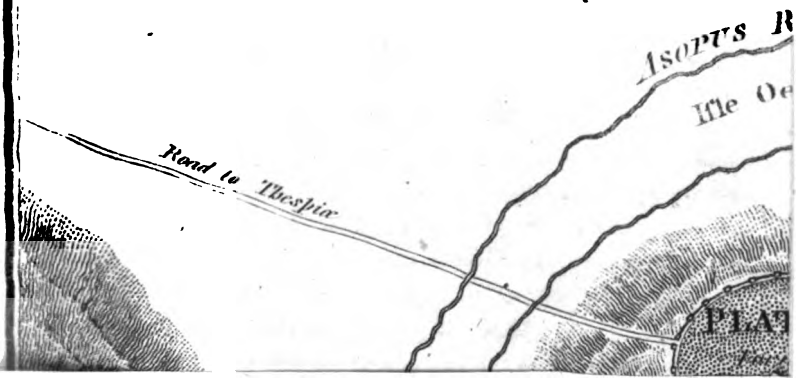
ESSAY ON THE BATTLE OF

For the Travels of Anach

Designed entirely from the Accounts given

BY M. BARBIE DU BOC

February 1784.



dot. lib. 9. cap. 57 et 65. Arist. p. 325. Diodor. Sic. 14.

e Herodot. l. 9. cap. 62.
f Plut. in Arist. p. 329.
g Herodot. lib 9. cap. 70.

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[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 51. Paulan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 57.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 58.

[*] The night between the 21st and 22d of September.

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having drawn up his men on a ſloping and un- ground near a ſmall rivulet, and the encloſure to Ceres [d], leſt them long expoſed to the darts and the enemy, againſt which they did not venture to mſelves. The entrails of the victims were declared only ſiniſter events. This wretched ſuperſtition the loſs of a great number of ſoldiers, who leſs re- e loſs of life than that their death ſhould be of ſo ity to their country. At length the Tegeatæ, no ble to reſiſt the ardour which animated them, began , and were ſoon ſupported by the Spartans who had ained, or contrived to procure, ſome favourable o-

heir approach, the Perſians threw away their bows, and their ranks, covered themſelves with their bucklers, g a compact body, which by its weight and impulſe d and repelled the fury of the enemy. In vain are ragile bucklers ſhivered in pieces; they break the lances ierce them, and ſupply the deficiency of their weapons erocious courage [f]. Mardonius, at the head of a thou- choſen ſoldiers, long held the victory in ſuſpenſe; but ntly he falls, with a mortal wound. The troops attach- his perſon attempt to avenge his death, and are ſacri- d around his body. From this moment the Perſian hoſt s ſhaken, thrown into confuſion, and compelled to fly. heir cavalry for ſome time ſtopped the progreſs of the vic- r, but did not prevent him from reaching the foot of the trenchment thrown up by the Perſians near the Aſopus, d in which the remains of their ſhattered army took re- ge [g].

Similar ſucceſs had attended the Athenians on the left wing: they had experienced a very obſtinate reſiſtance from the

[d] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 57 et 65. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 325. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 24.

[e] Herodot. l. 9. cap. 62.

[f] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 329.

[g] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 70.

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Bœotians, but only feeble efforts on the part of the other allies of Xerxes, offended, no doubt, at the haughty conduct of Mardonius, and his obstinacy in persisting to give battle on ground so disadvantageous. In their flight the Bœotians hurried away with them the whole of the Persian right wing [h].

Aristides, far from pursuing them, immediately proceeded to join the Lacedæmonians, who, little versed in the art of conducting sieges, were employed in fruitless attacks on the fortification by which the Persians were defended. The arrival of the Athenians and the rest of the confederated troops did not terrify the besieged, who furiously repulsed the assailants; but the Athenians at length forcing the intrenchment, and destroying a part of the wall, the Greeks rushed into the camp, and the Persians suffered themselves to be slaughtered like victims [i].

Artabazus, who had under his command a body of forty thousand men, but who had long been secretly offended at the choice Xerxes had made of Mardonius to command the army, had, from the beginning of the battle, advanced rather to be a spectator than with any view of contributing to its success. He accordingly no sooner saw the army of Mardonius give ground, than he ordered his troops to follow him; and taking to flight, took the road of Phocis, crossed the sea at Byzantium [k], and repaired to Asia, where his having saved a part of the army was perhaps imputed to him as a merit. All the remainder, except about three thousand men, perished, either in the intrenchment or the battle.

The nations that most distinguished themselves on this memorable day were, on the one side, the Persians and the Sacæ; and on the other, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Tegea. Great encomiums were bestowed by the victors on the valour of Mardonius, the Athenian Sophanes, and four Spartans, at the head of whom we must

h Herodot. lib. 9. cap 67.
i Id. ibid. cap. 70. Diod. Sic lib. 11. p. 25.
k Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 66 et 89.

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place Ariſtodemus, who had reſolved on this occaſion to free himſelf from the diſgrace of not having ſacrificed his life at Thermopylæ. But the Lacedæmonians beſtowed no honours on his aſhes: they ſaid, that reſolved to die rather than to conquer, he had quitted his rank during the battle, and ſeemed rather actuated by the courage derived from deſpair than real valour [l].

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians and Athenians equally diſputed the palm of bravery; the former, becauſe they had beaten the beſt troops of Mardonius; the latter, becauſe they had forced them in their intrenchments: both aſſerted their pretenſions with a degree of haughtineſs from which it was impoſſible to recede. Their minds became irritated; the two camps reſounded with menaces, and they would have proceeded to blows, but for the prudence of Ariſtides, who prevailed on the Athenians to refer the queſtion to the deciſion of the allies. Theogiton of Megara now propoſed to the rival ſtates to renounce the prize, and adjudge it to ſome other people. Cleocritus of Corinth named the Plataeans, and all the ſuffrages were united in their favour [m].

The earth was covered with the rich ſpoils of the Perſians; and gold and ſilver filled their tents. Pauſanias delivered the plunder into the cuſtody of the Helots [n]: the tenth part was reſerved for the temple of Delphi, and a conſiderable portion for monuments in honour of the gods. The victors ſhared the remainder, and brought into their country the firſt ſeeds of corruption [o].

All kinds of honours were conferred on thoſe who had died in arms. Each nation prepared a tomb for its warriors [p], and Ariſtides procured a decree to be paſſed in an aſſembly of the generals: That the people of Greece ſhould every year ſend deputies to Plataea, there to perpetuate, by ſolemn ſacrifices, the

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[l] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 71.
[m] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 331.
[n] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80.
[o] Juſtin. lib. 2 cap. 14.
[p] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 85. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 58.

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memory of those who had lost their lives in the battle; that every five years splendid games should be there celebrated, and called the Festivals of Liberty; and that the Platæans, henceforward exempt from all cares but those of offering up vows for the preservation of Greece, should be considered as an inviolate state, consecrated to the gods [q].

Eleven days after the battle [*], the victors marched to Thebes, and demanded that the inhabitants should deliver up such of the citizens as had induced them to a submission to the Medes. On the refusal of the Thebans, the city was besieged, and in danger of being destroyed, had not one of the principal offenders consented to surrender himself and the rest of his faction into the hands of the allies. They flattered themselves they should be able to redeem their lives by the sacrifice of the great sums of money they had received from Mardonius; but Pausanias, deaf to their offers, sentenced them all to death [r].

The battle of Platæa was fought on the third of the month Boedromion [s], in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad †. On the same day, the Grecian fleet, commanded by Leutychides king of Lacedæmon, and Xanthippus the Athenian, gained a signal victory over the Persians [t], near the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, and the states of that district, who had called them to their assistance, entered, after the engagement, into the general league [u].

Such was the conclusion of the war of Xerxes, better known by the name of the Median war: it had continued two years [x]: and never perhaps did such memorable transactions occur in so short an interval, nor ever did similar events operate such rapid revolutions, in the ideas, interests, and

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[q] Plut. in Aristid. p. 331.

[*] The 3d of October.

[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 88. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26.

[s] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349. Id. in Camill. t. i. p. 138. In the life of Aristides, p. 330, he says it was on the 4th.

† The 22d of September of the year 479 before Christ. Dodwell in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

[t] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 90.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 106.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 29.

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governments of nations. Their effects were different on the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, according to the diversity of their character and institutions. The former sought for repose after their successes, and suffered only a few marks of jealousy to escape them against the Athenians. The latter suddenly abandoned themselves to the most immoderate ambition, and proposed at once to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the pre-eminence they had hitherto held in Greece, and to protect the Ionians, who had just recovered their liberty, against the Persians.

The different states of Greece at length recovered breath: the Athenians re-established themselves amidst the ruins of their unfortunate city, and rebuilt its walls, notwithstanding the complaints of the allies, who began to dread the increasing glory of that people; and in despite of the representations of the Lacedæmonians, who gave it as their opinion that it would be proper to dismantle all the fortified towns of Greece situated without Peloponnesus, that on any new invasion they might not serve as a retreat for the Persians [y]. Themistocles found means to divert the storm then impending over the Athenians. He still further induced them to make a harbour at the Piræus, defended by a strong wall [z], to build yearly a certain number of galleys, and offer privileges and immunities to strangers, and especially to mechanics, who should come to settle in their city [a].

At the same time, the allies prepared to restore to their freedom the Grecian cities in which the Persians had left garrisons. A numerous fleet, under the command of Pausanias and Aristides, obliged the enemy to abandon the isle of Cyprus and the city of Byzantium, situated on the Hellespont [b]. These successes completed the ruin of Pausanias,

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1 cap. 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 121. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 31.

[z] Plut. in Themist. ibid. Nep. in Themist. cap. 6.

[a] Diod. Sic lib. 11. p. 33.

[b] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 94. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 34.

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who, from this time, was incapable of ſupporting his glory and good fortune with moderation.

He was no longer that rigid Spartan, who, in the fields of Platæa, derided the pomp and ſlavery of the Medes [c]; he was become a ſatrap, totally ſubdued by the manners of the vanquiſhed people, and perpetually ſurrounded by foreign guards, who rendered him inacceſſible [d]. The allies, who could only obtain from him harſh and humiliating anſwers, or imperious and ſanguinary orders, revolted at length againſt a tyranny become ſtill more odious from the conduct of Ariſtides, who, to conciliate the minds of men, employed the moſt powerful of all inſtruments, mildneſs and juſtice. The confederate nations, therefore, propoſed to the Athenians to fight under their orders [e].

The Lacedæmonians, informed of this defection, immediately recalled Pauſanias, who was at once accuſed of oppreſſion towards the allies, and ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the Perſians. Sufficient proofs were adduced of his tyranny and oppreſſion, and he was deprived of the command [f]. His treaſon ſoon after became equally manifeſt, and he was put to death [g]. This puniſhment, however exemplary, did not produce its effect on the allies: they refuſed to obey the Spartan Dorcis, who ſucceeded to Pauſanias [h]; and this general reſigning his command, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the meaſures proper to be adopted.

Their claim to command the combined army of the Greeks was founded on the moſt reſpectable titles. It had hitherto been admitted by all the nations of Greece, not excepting the Athenians [i]. Sparta had exerciſed this right, not to extend her dominions, but every where to deſtroy tyranny [k]. The

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[c] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 82.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 130. Nep. in Pauſan. cap. 3.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 95. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. p. 34. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333. Nep. in Ariſt. cap. 2.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 131.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 35.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 95.

[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 2 et 3. Nep. in Ariſt. cap. 2.

[k] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 18. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 58.

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wisdom of her laws often rendered her the arbiter of the Grecian states; and the equity of her decisions had induced many of them to increase the number of her allies. What a moment too was chosen to despoil her of her prerogative! The very moment when, under the conduct of her generals, the Greeks had gained the most brilliant of victories.

Reflections like these filled the Spartans with rage and indignation. They threatened the allies, and were meditating the invasion of Attica, when a senator, named Hetæmaridas, ventured to represent to the warriors who furrounded him, that their generals, after the most glorious successes, brought nothing back to their country but the seeds of corruption; that the example of Pausanias should make them tremble at the thought of choosing him a successor; and that it was advantageous to the republic to yield to the Athenians the empire of the sea, and the care of continuing the war against the Persians [l].

This discourse surprised, and quickly calmed the minds of the assembly. The bravest nation in the world was seen to prefer her virtues to her vengeance, and lay aside her jealousy at the voice of reason. The genius of Lycurgus still reigned in Sparta; and never perhaps did she display more real courage and true greatness.

The Athenians, who, far from expecting such a sacrifice, were prepared to assert their claim by force of arms, admired a moderation they were incapable of imitating; and, whilst a rival nation was thus divesting itself of a portion of its power, their anxiety was but the greater to procure the honourable privilege of commanding the naval armies of Greece to be confirmed to them by the allies [m].

This new system of confederation was to be justified by new enterprises, and gave birth to new projects. The first step was to regulate the necessary contributions for continuing the

[l] Id. lib. 1. cap. 75 et 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38.

[m] Plut. in Arist. p. 333.

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war against the Persians. All the states committed their interests to the integrity of Aristides, who visited all parts of the continent and the islands, informed himself of the produce of the lands, and gave such proofs of intelligence and equity in his whole conduct of this business, that even those on whom the taxes were levied considered him as their benefactor [n]. As soon as this taxation was finished, it was resolved to attack the Persians.

The Lacedæmonians took no part in this deliberation; they now were only intent on peace, while the Athenians breathed nothing but war. This contrariety of views had more than once been displayed. After the battle of Mycale, the people of Peloponnesus headed by the Lacedæmonians, wished to remove the Ionians to the continent of Greece, and bestow on them the maritime places possessed by the nations which had entered into alliance with the Persians. By this transmigration, the Greeks would have been freed from the burden of protecting the Ionians, and the inevitable rupture between Asia and Europe been, at least for some time, retarded. But the Athenians rejected this proposal, pretending that the fate of their colonies ought not to depend on the allies [o]. It was necessary at least to affix a sort of stigma on the different states of Greece, who had joined their forces to those of Xerxes, or remained inactive. The Lacedæmonians proposed to exclude them from the assembly of the Amphictyons; but Themistocles, wishing to procure for his country the alliance of the Argives, Thebans, and Thessalians, represented, that, by excluding these states from that assembly, two or three powerful cities would dispose of all the suffrages at their pleasure. He thus defeated the proposition of the Lacedæmonians, and drew on himself their hatred [p].

He had merited that of the allies by his exactions, and the acts of violence he had exercised in the isles of the Ægean

[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 106.
[p] Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

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ſea. A multitude of individuals complained of his injuſtice, others of the riches he had amaſſed, and all of his inordinate thirſt for power. Envy, which carefully collected his moſt trifling words and actions, enjoyed the cruel pleaſure of caſting a cloud over his glory. He himſelf ſaw it diminiſh from day to day, and to maintain its ſplendour even deſcended to weary the people with the recital of his exploits, not perceiving that it is as dangerous as fruitleſs to recal to mind forgotten ſervices. He built near his houſe a temple dedicated to DIANA, THE INSPIRER OF GOOD COUNSELS. This inſcription, the memorial of thoſe he had given the Athenians during the Median war, had the appearance of a reproach, and conſequently of an inſult offered to the nation. His enemies prevailed: he was baniſhed *, and retired to Peleponneſus; but ſoon after, having been accuſed of carrying on a criminal correſpondence with Artaxerxes, the ſucceſſor of Xerxes, he was driven from city to city [q], and conſtrained to take refuge with the Perſians, who honoured in their ſuppliant vanquiſher thoſe talents which had humbled them, but were now no longer formidable. He died ſeveral years after †.

The Athenians were ſcarcely ſenſible of this loſs, ſince they poſſeſſed Ariſtides, and Cimon ſon of Miltiades. The latter united to the valour of his father the prudence of Themiſtocles, and almoſt all the virtues of Ariſtides, whoſe example he had ſtudied, and to whoſe leſſons he had ever been attentive [r]. To him was intruſted the command of the Grecian fleet: he ſet ſail for Thrace, made himſelf maſter of a city where the Perſians had a garriſon, deſtroyed the pirates who infeſted the neighbouring ſeas, and ſpread terror through thoſe iſlands which had detatched themſelves from the league [s].

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* Towards the year 471 before C.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 135. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 42. Plut. in Them. p. 122 et 123.

† Towards the year 449 before C.

[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

[s] Id. ibid. p. 483. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98.

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He ſoon after ſailed from the Piræus with two hundred galleys, which were joined by a hundred others furniſhed by the allies. By his preſence, or his arms, he obliged the cities of Caria and Lycia to declare againſt the Perſians; and, falling in with the fleet of the latter, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels [t], off the iſle of Cyprus, he ſunk part of them, and took the remainder: on the ſame evening, arriving on the coaſts of Pamphylia, where the Perſians had collected a numerous army, he diſembarked his troops, attacked and diſperſed the enemy, and returned with a great number of priſoners, and a large quantity of rich ſpoils, which he ſet apart for the embelliſhment of Athens [u].

This double victory was ſoon followed by the conqueſt of the Thracian peninſula [x]; and other advantages, gained in the courſe of ſeveral years, ſucceſſively increaſed the glory of the Athenians, and their confidence in their troops.

The ſtrength of their allies diminiſhed in the ſame proportion. Exhauſted by a war which daily became more foreign to their intereſts, the greater part refuſed to furniſh their contingent of ſhips and ſoldiers. The Athenians at firſt employed menaces and violence to compel them; but Cimon, actuated by profounder views, propoſed to them to keep at home their troops and their ſailors, to increaſe their pecuniary contributions, and ſend their galleys, which ſhould be navigated by Athenians [y]. By this artful policy he deprived them of their navy; and, plunging them into a fatal ſtate of repoſe, gave ſuch a ſuperiority to his country, that ſhe ceaſed to pay the leaſt attention to the allies. Ariſtides and Cimon indeed retained ſome of them by continued marks of reſpect; but Athens, by her haughtineſs, compelled the others to ſeparate from her alliance, and puniſhed them for their defection, by reducing them to ſlavery.

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 100.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 47.
[x] Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 99. Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

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In this manner ſhe took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Scyros and of Naxos [z]; and obliged the inhabitants of the iſland of Thaſos, after a long ſiege, to raſe the walls of their capital, and reſign to the victors their ſhips, their gold mines, and the territory they poſſeſſed on the continent [a].

Theſe proceedings were manifeſt infractions of the treaty which Ariſtides had entered into with the allies, and of which the obſervance was guarded by the moſt tremendous oaths. But Ariſtides exhorted the Athenians to avert on his head the puniſhment due to their perjuries [b]. It ſeemed as if virtue itſelf began to be corrupted by ambition.

Athens was now in a ſtate of continual war; and the object of this war was twofold; the one, of which they made no ſecret, was to maintain the liberty of the cities of Ionia; the other, which they were fearful of avowing, to wreſt that ſame liberty from all the ſtates of Greece.

The Lacedæmonians, at length rouſed by the complaints of the allies, had reſolved, during the ſiege of Thaſos, to make a diverſion in Attica [c]: but at the moment this project was to be carried into execution, Sparta was deſtroyed by dreadful earthquakes, and a conſiderable number of its inhabitants periſhed beneath the ruins. The ſlaves revolted, ſeveral of the cities of Laconia followed their example, and the Lacedæmonians were compelled to implore the aſſiſtance of that people * whoſe ambitious progreſs they had wiſhed to ſtop. One of the orators of Athens counſelled his countrymen to ſuffer the only power they had to fear in Greece to ſink beneath its calamities; but Cimon, convinced that the rivalry of Sparta was more advantageous to the Athenians even than their conqueſts, found means to inſpire them with more generous ſentiments [d]. On various occaſions they joined their

[z] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 101. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 53. Plut. in Cim. p. 487.

[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 334.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101.

* Towards the year 464 before C.

[d] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

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troops with those of Lacedæmon; and this important service, which should have united the two nations, sowed the seeds of a hatred between them that gave birth to the most fatal wars[e]. The Lacedæmonians, imagining they perceived a secret correspondence between the revolters and the Athenian generals, entreated them, under plausible pretences, to withdraw their forces; but the Athenians, irritated at such a suspicion, broke the treaty by which they had been allied to the Lacedæmonians from the commencement of the Median war, and lost no time in concluding another with the people of Argos, who had long been the enemies of Sparta[f].

During these transactions, Inarus, son of Psammetichus, having excited an insurrection in Egypt against Artaxerxes, king of Persia[g], solicited the protection of the Athenians *. The desire of enfeebling the Persians, and of procuring the alliance of the Egyptians, determined the republic still more than the offers of Inarus. Cimon sailed to Egypt with the allied fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels[h]. He ascended the Nile, and joined that of the Egyptians, who defeated the Persians, and made themselves masters of Memphis, except one quarter of the city, in which the shattered remains of the Persian army had taken refuge. The revolt of the Egyptians was not suppressed till six years after: the valour of the Athenians and other Greeks alone prolonged its duration. After the loss of a battle, they defended themselves sixteen months in an island formed by two branches of the Nile, and most of them perished sword in hand. It must be observed, that Artaxerxes, to oblige the Grecian troops to quit Egypt, had in vain attempted, by offers of rich presents, to induce the Lacedæmonians to make an irruption into Attica[i].

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[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 102. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 48. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 104. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 54.

* Towards the year 462 before C.

[h] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 110. Plut. in Cim. p. 490.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 56.

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Whilst the Athenians were combating at a distance to give a king to Egypt, they attacked in Europe the inhabitants of Corinth and Epidaurus; they triumphed over the Bœotians and Sicyonians; they dispersed the fleet of Peloponnesus, and forced the people of Ægina to give up their ships, pay a tribute, and demolish their walls [k]; they sent troops into Thessaly, to restore Orestes to the throne of his ancestors [l]; they kept all the people of Greece in motion by secret intrigues, or adventurous enterprises; furnishing succours to some, and forcing others to supply them; uniting to their territory the countries that lay convenient; forming settlements wherever they were invited by commerce; continually in arms, and continually hurried on to new expeditions by a rapid succession of victories and misfortunes.

Colonies, sometimes consisting of ten thousand men [m], left their native country to cultivate the lands of the vanquished [n]. These emigrations, with the frequent wars in which the Athenians engaged, would have depopulated Attica, had not foreigners thronged into this little country, invited by the decree of Themistocles, which there offered them an asylum, and still more by the desire of participating in the glory and advantage of such numerous conquests.

The immoderate ambition of the republic was too well seconded by able and enterprising generals. Such were Myronides, who took Phocis, and almost all Bœotia, in a single campaign [o]; Tolmidas, who about the same time ravaged the coasts of Peloponnesus [p]; and Pericles, who now began to lay the foundation of his glory, and availed himself of the frequent absence of Cimon to obtain a decisive influence over the minds of the people.

The Athenians did not now wage direct war with Lacedæmon, but exercised frequent hostilities against her and her

[k] Id. ibid. cap 105 et 108. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 59 et 63.
[l] Id ibid. cap. 111.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 54.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 67. Plut. in Per. p. 163.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 63. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 64. Thucyd. ibid.

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allies. In concert with the Argives, they on one occasion attempted to oppose the return of a body of troops, whom their particular interests had led from Peloponnesus into Bœotia. The battle was fought near the city of Tanagra *. The Athenians were defeated, and the Lacedæmonians quietly continued their march [q]. The former now dreaded an open rupture. On these occasions the republic blushed at her injustice, and her leaders laid aside their rivalry. All eyes were turned towards Cimon, whom they had exiled a few years before; and Pericles, who had procured his banishment, undertook to propose the decree for his recal [r].

This great man, honoured with the esteem of the Spartans, and secure in the confidence of the Athenians, exerted all his endeavours to recal them to pacific views [s], and prevailed on them at least to sign a truce for five years †. But as the Athenians could no longer bear the inactivity of peace, he lost no time in leading them into Cyprus, where he gained such signal advantages over the Persians, as to compel Artaxerxes to sue for a peace as a suppliant ‡. The conditions were humiliating for the great king, and such as he would himself have dictated to a band of robbers, who had infested the frontiers of his kingdom. He acknowledged the independence of the Greek cities of Ionia, and it was stipulated that his ships of war should not enter the seas of Greece, nor his land troops approach nearer to the coast than the distance of three days march. The Athenians, on their part, swore to make no inroads on the territories of Artaxerxes [t].

Such were the laws which a city of Greece imposed on the greatest empire of the world. Thirty years before, the resolution of the same city to resist that power, was considered as the mere effect of desperation, and her success as a prodigy. Cimon did not long enjoy his glory: he ended his

* Towards the year 456 before C.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108.
[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 112. Plut.
† The year 450 before Christ.
‡ The year 449 before Christ.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 74.

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days in Cyprus. With his death terminated the prosperity of the Athenians; and here I should conclude this part of their history, had I not to collect a few circumstances that characterize the age in which he lived.

When the Persians invaded Greece, two motives of fear induced the Athenians to make a vigorous resistance: the dread of slavery, which in free nations has at all times produced more virtues than the principles of their political institutions; and the dread of public ignominy, which among all nations is often substituted for virtue. The former operated more powerfully on the Athenians, as they began to enjoy that liberty which had cost them two ages of dissensions; the latter they owed to their education and long habit. At this period they were happily under the dominion of that modesty [u] which blushes at licentiousness as well as cowardice; which inclines every citizen to confine himself within the limits of his condition, or those assigned him by his abilities; which makes the law a check for the powerful, the practice of his duties a resource for the feeble, and renders the esteem of his fellow-citizens indispensable to every one.

Men shunned employments, because they were worthy of them [x]; none ventured to aspire to distinctions, because the respect of the public sufficed to recompense services rendered to the state. Never were greater actions performed than in this age; never were men more remote from the idea that the glory of such actions should be confined to a few individuals. Statues were erected in honour of Solon, of Harmodius, and Aristogiton; but it was not till after their death. Aristides and Themistocles saved the republic, but that republic did not even decree them a single crown of laurel [y]. When Miltiades, after the battle of Marathon, solicited that honour in the assembly of the people, some one rose up, and said: "Miltiades, when you shall alone repulse the barbarians, you

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 699.
[x] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 328.
[y] Æschin. Orat. cont. Ctesiph. p. 457.

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alone ſhall be honoured with a crown [z]." Not long after, ſome Athenian troops, under the command of Cimon, gaining conſiderable advantages in Thrace, on their return demanded a reward. In the commemorative inſcriptions that were engraven, a general eulogium was paſſed on the troops, but no perſon was particularly named [a].

As each citizen might be uſeful, and was not liable to be humiliated every inſtant by unjuſt diſtinctions, all knew they had it in their power to acquire perſonal reſpect; and, as manners were pure and ſimple, they poſſeſſed in general that independence and dignity, which men loſe only by the multiplicity of wants and intereſts.

I ſhall not adduce, as doing honour to this age, the diſtinguiſhed homage rendered by the Athenians to the integrity of Ariſtides. This happened at a repreſentation of one of the dramas of Æſchylus. The actor having ſaid that Amphiaraus was leſs anxious to appear a man of worth than really to be ſo, every eye was immediately turned towards Ariſtides [b]. A nation that is corrupted might make a ſimilar application: but the Athenians had always more deference for the opinions of Ariſtides than for thoſe of Themiſtocles; and this we ſhould not have ſeen in a corrupted nation.

After their ſucceſſes againſt the Perſians, the pride attendant on victory [c] united itſelf in their hearts with the virtues by which that victory had been procured; and this pride appeared the more well founded, as men had never fought in a more juſt or more important cauſe.

When a poor and virtuous nation ſuddenly attains a certain point of elevation, one of two things muſt neceſſarily happen; either that to preſerve its conſtitution it ſhall renounce every idea of aggrandizement, in which caſe it peaceably enjoys its own eſteem, and the reſpect of other nations, which happened to

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[z] Plut. in Cim. p. 483.

[a] Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph. p. 458. Plut. in Cim. p. 482.

[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 320.

[c] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 779.

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the Lacedæmonians; or that it ſhall determine at any rate to increaſe its power, and then it becomes unjuſt and oppreſſive, as was the caſe with the Athenians.

Themiſtocles led them aſtray in the path he pointed out to them; and their leading ſtateſmen, far from moderating, ſeemed only attentive to inflame their ardour.

On the ſecond invaſion of the Perſians, Miltiades propoſed to meet the enemy in the open field [d]. This project was worthy the conqueror of Marathon. That of Themiſtocles was perhaps ſtill bolder: he ventured to adviſe the Athenians to truſt their fate to a naval combat. There were powerful reaſons againſt this plan of defence. The Athenians ſcarcely knew how to ſteer their feeble ſhips; they had no experience in maritime engagements. It was impoſſible to foreſee that Xerxes would attack the Greeks in a ſtrait; and how could Themiſtocles flatter himſelf, as he aſſerted, that he ſhould be able at all events to force a paſſage through the Perſian fleet, and ſafely convey the people of Athens to a diſtant country? However this may be, ſucceſs juſtified Themiſtocles.

But if the eſtabliſhment of a navy proved the ſalvation of Athens, it ſoon became the inſtrument of her ambition and her ruin [e]. Themiſtocles, who wiſhed to render his country the moſt powerful ſtate in Greece, that he might be the firſt citizen of that ſtate, gave orders to form a new port, to build an additional number of galleys, and put on board the fleet the ſoldiers, artiſans, huſbandmen, and that multitude of ſtrangers he had brought to Athens from every nation. After counſelling them to ſpare the ſtates on the continent who had joined Xerxes, he attacked without mercy the iſlands which had been under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Perſians [f]: he ſeized on their treaſures; and on his return to his country purchaſed partiſans, whom he retained and diſguſted by his oſtentation. Cimon and the other generals, enriched by the

[d] Steſimbr. ap. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 113.

[e] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 393.

[f] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

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ſame means, diſplayed a magnificence hitherto unknown: after the example of Themiſtocles, they had now no other object but to concur in the aggrandizement of the republic; an idea that prevailed in every mind.

The people, elated with pride at ſeeing their generals lay at their feet the ſpoils and voluntary or forced ſubmiſſions of the cities united to their dominions, impetuouſly diſperſed themſelves over all the ſeas, and appeared on every coaſt, multiplying conqueſts which inſenſibly perverted the character of the national valour: for theſe courageous ſoldiers, who had braved death in the fields of Marathon and Plataea, now ſervilely occupied in maritime operations, were, for the moſt part, employed only in attempting cautious deſcents, ſurpriſing defenceleſs towns, and ravaging abandoned fields; a ſpecies of war that teaches men to eſtimate their comparative ſtrength, to approach the enemy with care and fear, and to take to flight without a bluſh [g].

The national manners received the fatal blow which an intercourſe with foreigners, the rivalry of power or influence, the ſpirit of conqueſt, and the thirſt of gain, inevitably give to a government founded on virtue. That multitude of obſcure citizens who ſerved on board the fleets, and to whom the republic owed every attention, ſince ſhe owed to them her glory, contracted in their expeditions the vices of pirates; and, becoming every day more enterpriſing, ruled without controul in the public aſſembly, and transferred the authority into the hands of the multitude, an almoſt unavoidable conſequence in a ſtate poſſeſſing a flouriſhing navy [h]. Two or three anecdotes will ſhow how very ſoon the principles of right and equity became enfeebled among the people.

Some months after the battle of Plataea, Themiſtocles publicly declared that he had conceived an important project, the ſucceſs of which could only be ſecured by the moſt im-

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 706.

[h] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 389. et 390. Plut. in Them. p. 121.

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penetrable ſecrecy. The people anſwered: "Let it be communicated to Ariſtides, we refer ourſelves to him." Themiſtocles drew the latter aſide, and ſaid to him: "The fleet of our allies is now lying, without ſuſpicion, in the port of Pagaſæ; I propoſe to burn it, and we are maſters of Greece." "Athenians," ſaid Ariſtides, "nothing can be more for your intereſt than the project of Themiſtocles; but nothing can be ſo unjuſt." We will hear no more of it, exclaimed the whole aſſembly with one voice [i].

Some years after, the Samians propoſed to the Athenians to violate an article of the treaty entered into with the allies. The people aſked the opinion of Ariſtides: "The propoſal of the Samians is unjuſt," anſwered he, "but it is to your intereſt." The people approved the project of the Samians [k]. In a word, after a ſhort interval of time, and under Pericles, the Athenians, on more occaſions than one, had the inſolence to avow that the only law of nations they were acquainted with was force [l].

SECT. II.

AGE OF PERICLES *.

PERICLES very early perceived, that his birth and riches gave him claims to power, and rendered him ſuſpected by his fellow citizens. His fears were augmented by other circumſtances. Some old men, who had known Piſiſtratus, thought they diſcovered him again in the young Pericles, who they affirmed had the ſame features, the ſame tone of voice, and the ſame powers of eloquence [m]: it was neceſſary to obtain a pardon for this reſemblance, and its concomitant advan-

[i] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 332. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.
[k] Id. in Ariſt. p. 334.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 89, &c.

* From the year 444 to the year 404 before Chriſt.
[m] Plut. in Per. p. 155.

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tages. Pericles dedicated his early years to the ſtudy of philoſophy, without interfering in public affairs, and appeared to court no other diſtinction but that of valour [n].

After the death of Ariſtides and the exile of Themiſtocles, Cimon took the reins of government; but, frequently occupied with diſtant expeditions, left the Athenians to fluctuate between ſeveral candidates, incapable of fixing their confidence. Pericles was now ſeen to withdraw himſelf from ſociety, renounce pleaſures, and attract the attention of the multitude by a ſolemn ſtep, a decent carriage, a modeſt exterior, and irreproachable manners [o]. At length he appeared in the aſſembly, and his firſt eſſays aſtoniſhed the Athenians. He was indebted to nature for making him the moſt eloquent of men, and to ſtudy for perfecting what he had received from nature, and rendering him the firſt of the Grecian orators [p].

The celebrated maſters who had inſtructed his infancy, continuing to guide him by their counſels, taught him the firſt principles of politics and morals: his genius made their knowledge his own [q]; hence that profundity, that plenitude of information, that force of ſtyle, which he could occaſionally ſoften, thoſe graces which he did not neglect but never affected, and other innumerable great qualities that enabled him to perſuade ſuch as he could not convince, and to impel even thoſe who were alike inſenſible to perſuaſion and conviction.

His diſcourſes diſcovered a commanding majeſty that overwhelmed the mind. This was the fruit of his converſations with the philoſopher Anaxagoras, who, by explaining to him the principles of beings and the phænomena of nature, ſeemed to have raiſed to ſtill greater ſublimity his naturally elevated mind [r].

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[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 154 et 155.
[p] Cicer. de Clar. orat. cap. 11. t. i. p. 345. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.
[q] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[r] Id. ibid.

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Nor was the dexterity with which he preſſed his adverſaries and eluded their purſuits leſs admired. For this he was indebted to the philoſopher Zeno of Elea, who had more than once conducted him through the mazes of a captious logic, to diſcover to him its ſecret iſſues [s]; one of the greateſt antagoniſts of Pericles therefore often ſaid: "When I have got him down, and am holding him under me, he cries out that he is not vanquiſhed, and perſuades every body to believe him [t]."

Pericles knew the Athenians too well not to found his hopes on his eloquence, and was too well acquainted with the excellence of that endowment not to be the firſt to reſpect it. Before he appeared in public, he ſecretly endeavoured ſtrongly to impreſs his mind with the idea that he was about to addreſs free men, Greeks, and Athenians [u].

He refrained, notwithſtanding, as much as poſſible, from appearing at the aſſembly, becauſe, always intent on purſuing gradually the project of raiſing himſelf to power, he feared by new ſucceſſes to obliterate the impreſſion made by thoſe he had before obtained, and too precipitately to carry the admiration of the people to that point whence it only can deſcend. The public judged that an orator, who diſdained the applauſes he was certain of receiving, merited the confidence he did not ſeek, and that the affairs he propoſed for diſcuſſion muſt be important indeed, ſince they had conſtrained him to break ſilence [x].

A high idea was formed of the power he had over his own paſſions, when one day that the aſſembly continued its deliberations until night, they ſaw him perpetually interrupted and inſulted by a ſimple individual, who followed him with revilings even to his houſe, where Pericles coolly directed one of his ſlaves to take a flambeau and light the man home [y].

[s] Id. ibid. p. 154.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 156. Id. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 802.
[u] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 186.
[x] Plut. in Per. p. 155.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 154.

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When it was obſerved, in ſhort, that he diſplayed in every thing not only the talent, but even the virtue adapted to the circumſtance; in his domeſtic life, the ſimplicity and frugality of ancient times; in the adminiſtration of public affairs, an unalterable diſintereſtedneſs and probity; in the command of armies, a careful attention to leave nothing to chance, and to riſk his reputation rather than the ſafety of the ſtate [z]; men concluded that a mind capable of contemning praiſe and inſult, wealth, ſuperfluities, and even glory itſelf, could not but poſſeſs that noble zeal for the public good that annihilates all other paſſions, or at leaſt concentrates them in a ſingle ſentiment.

It was this illuſion above all that raiſed Pericles; and he found means to maintain the character he had acquired forty years [a], in the midſt of an enlightened people, jealous of their authority, and who as eaſily tired of their admiration as their obedience.

He firſt ſhared the public favour before he obtained it undivided. Cimon was at the head of the nobles and the rich; Pericles declared in favour of the multitude he deſpiſed, which gave him a conſiderable party. Cimon, who by lawfu means had acquired an immenſe fortune in his expeditions, employed it in embelliſhing the city and in relieving the wretched. Pericles, by the aſcendency he had gained, diſpoſed of the public treaſure of the Athenians and their allies, filled Athens with the nobleſt productions of art, aſſigned penſions to the pooreſt citizens, diſtributed among them part of the conquered lands, augmented the number of the feſtivals, and granted an emolument to thoſe who ſat as judges in the courts, and thoſe who ſhould be preſent at the ſpectacles and general aſſemblies [b]. The people ſeeing only the hand that gave, ſhut their eyes to the ſource from whence it drew. They became

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[z] Id. ibid. p. 161, 162, &c.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 161.
[b] Ariſtot. de Rep lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336. Plut. in Per. p. 156 et 157.

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more and more united to Pericles, who, to attach them still more strongly to himself, rendered them the accomplices of the repeated acts of injustice of which he was guilty, and made use of them to strike those great strokes which by manifesting power augment it. He procured the banishment of Cimon, on a false accusation of maintaining a suspicious correspondence with the Lacedæmonians [c]; and, under frivolous pretexts, destroyed the authority of the areopagus, which vigorously opposed its influence to his innovations and the growing licentiousness of the times [d].

After the death of Cimon, Thucydides, his brother-in-law, laboured to reanimate the tottering party of the principal citizens. He possessed not the military talents of Pericles; yet, equally skilful with him in managing the inclinations and prejudices of the public, he, for some time, maintained an equilibrium, but at length was condemned to banishment by the ostracism [e].

From this moment Pericles changed his system: he had subjugated the party of the rich by flattering the multitude; and he now subjugated the multitude by restraining their caprices, sometimes by an invincible opposition, and at others by the wisdom of his counsels, or the charms of his eloquence [f]. Every thing was governed by his will, though every thing was apparently transacted according to the established laws and customs; and liberty, lulled into security by the observance of the republican forms, imperceptibly expired under the tyranny of genius.

In proportion as Pericles augmented his power, he was less lavish of his influence and his presence. Confining himself to a small circle of relations and friends, he was supposed to be solely occupied with plans for the pacification or overthrow of Greece; while, from his retirement, he kept a vigilant eye over the different branches of government. The Athe-

[c] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.
[d] Id. in Per. p. 157.
[e] Plut. in Per. p. 158 et 161.
[f] Id. ibid. p 161.

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nians, docile to the impulse, implicitly obeyed the first mover, because they rarely saw him court their suffrages; and equally extravagant in their expressions as their sentiments, they represented Pericles only under the semblance of the most potent of the gods. Was his voice heard on important occasions; they exclaimed that Jupiter had intrusted him with his thunder and his lightning[g]: did he, on others, act only by the mediation of his creatures; they reflected that the sovereign of the skies committed to subordinate genii the minutiæ of the government of the universe.

Pericles extended, by splendid victories, the dominions of the republic; but when he saw the Athenian power attain to a certain point of elevation, he deemed it disgraceful to suffer it to decline, and a misfortune any farther to augment it. All his operations were governed by this consideration; and it was the triumph of his politics so long to have retained the Athenians in inaction, while he held their allies in dependence, and kept Lacedæmon in awe.

The Athenians, full of the consciousness of their power, of that consciousness which in the higher ranks produces haughtiness and pride, but in the multitude insolence and ferocity, no longer confined their views to the sovereignty of Greece, but meditated the conquest of Egypt, Carthage, Sicily, and Etruria. Pericles suffered these vast projects to evaporate, and only was the more attentive to the conduct of the allies of Athens[h].

The republic successively broke through those ties of equality which had formed the confederation between them and their allies: they imposed a yoke on them more humiliating than the conditions they had exacted from the barbarians, as it is more easy to accustom men to submit to violence than to injustice. Among other subjects of complaint, the allies re-

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[g] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 529. Plut. in Per. p. 156. Cic. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426.

[h] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 402. Plut. in Per. p. 164.

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proached the Athenians with applying to the embellishment of their city, the sums annually granted by them all to carry on the war against the Persians. Pericles answered, that the fleets of the republic secured her allies from the insults of the barbarians, and that she had no other engagement to fulfil [l]. On this Eubœa, Samos, and Byzantium, revolted; but Eubœa soon after returned to her obedience [k], Byzantium brought again the customary tribute [l], and Samos, after a vigorous resistance, indemnified the Athenians for the expences of the war, delivered up her ships, demolished her walls, and gave hostages [m].

The Peloponnesian league had now a new proof of the despotism the Athenians exercised over their allies, and to which they would one day subject their enemies. Alarmed for a long time past at the rapidity of their progress, and by no means relying on the subsisting treaties, confirmed by a truce of thirty years [n] *, the confederates would more than once have arrested the course of their victories, had they been able to overcome the extreme repugnance of the Lacedæmonians for every kind of war.

Such was the disposition of mens minds among the Grecian states. Pericles was odious to some, and formidable to all. His reign, for so his administration may be called [o], had not been shaken by the clamours of envy, and still less by the satires or sallies of pleasantry launched against him from the theatre, or in society. But to that species of vengeance which consoles the people for their weakness, at length succeeded confused murmurs, mingled with a gloomy inquietude that presaged an approaching revolution. His enemies, not daring directly to attack him, tried their weapons against those who had merited his protection or his friendship.

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[l] Plut. in Per. p. 158.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 75.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 117.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. in Per. p. 167.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 115.
* The year 445 before Christ. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 104.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 156.

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Phidias, intrusted with the superintendance of the superb monuments which decorate Athens, was accused of having embezzled part of the gold he had received to enrich the statue of Minerva: he proved his innocence, but nevertheless ended his days in prison. Anaxagoras, the most religious perhaps of the philosophers, was judicially prosecuted for impiety, and obliged to fly. The spouse, the tender friend of Pericles, the celebrated Aspasia, accused of having insulted religion by her conversation, and good morals by her conduct, pleaded her own cause; and the tears of her husband with difficulty saved her from the severity of her judges [p].

These attacks were but the prelude of those intended against Pericles himself, when an unforeseen event revived his hopes, and more firmly established his authority.

Corcyra had for some years been at war with Corinth [q], from which city she derives her origin. By the general law of Greece, a foreign power is not to intermeddle in the differences between a mother country and her colonies. But it was the interest of the Athenians to attach to themselves a people with a flourishing navy, and whose situation enabled them to favour the passage of their fleets into Sicily and Italy. They admitted the Corcyreans into their alliance, and sent them succours; on which the Corinthians loudly complained that the Athenians had broken the truce.

Potidæa, another colony of the Corinthians, had taken part with the Athenians. The latter, suspecting their fidelity, ordered the Potidæans not only to give them hostages, but to demolish their walls, and to expel the magistrates annually sent them, conformably to custom, by the mother country. Potidæa upon this joined the Peloponnesian league, and was laid siege to by the Athenians [r].

Some time before, the Athenians, under some frivolous pretext, had excluded from their ports and markets the inhabi-

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 95. Plut. in Per. p. 169. Philoch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 25. &c.

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 56.

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tants of Megara, the allies of Lacedæmon [s]. Other cities had been likewise deprived of their laws and liberties.

Corinth, wishing to excite a general war, espoused their quarrels, and found means to engage them to demand exemplary satisfaction through the Lacedæmonians, the chiefs of the Peloponnesian league [t]. The deputies of these different cities arrive at Lacedæmon: they are assembled, and expose their grievances with equal asperity and vehemence; they relate their past sufferings, their future apprehensions, and utter all that a just vengeance can dictate, or jealousy and hatred inspire. When the minds of the assembly are prepared to receive still stronger impressions, one of the Corinthian ambassadors takes up the subject [u], and reproaches the Lacedæmonians with that good faith, which forbids them to suspect the insincerity of others; and that moderation imputed to them as a merit, which renders them so indifferent to the interests of the neighbouring powers. "How often have we apprised you," say they, "of the projects of the Athenians? and how necessary is it again to remind you of them? Corcyra, whose navy might, on occasion, so powerfully assist us, has entered into their alliance; Potidæa, the city which secured our possessions in Thrace, is about to fall into their hands. We accuse none but you as the authors of our losses; you, who, after the Median war, permitted our enemies to fortify their city, and extend their conquests; you, who are the protectors of liberty, yet by your silence favour slavery; you, who deliberate when it is time to act, and who never think of your defence till the enemy falls on you with all his forces. It is still fresh in our memories, that the Medes issuing from the depths of Asia had over-run all Greece, and penetrated even into Peloponnesus, whilst you remained inactive in your houses. It is not against a distant nation you will have to fight, but against a people at your doors; against

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.

[t] Id. ibid.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 68.

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those Athenians whose resources and character you have never known, and with which you still are unacquainted: a people ardent in forming projects; skilful in varying them according to circumstances; so prompt in their execution, that to desire and to possess with them are the same thing; so presumptuous as to imagine themselves robbed of those conquests they have not been able to effect; and so grasping as never to limit themselves to those they have obtained: a bold and turbulent nation, whose courage augments with their danger, as their hope increases with misfortune; who regard indolence as a torment, and whom the gods in their anger have cast upon the earth, never to know repose, nor ever to suffer it to be enjoyed by others.

"What have you to oppose to so many advantages? Projects beneath your powers, diffidence in the wisest resolutions, tardiness in your operations, discouragement at the slightest check, dread of extending your domains, negligence in preserving them; every thing, even your very principles, is as injurious to the repose of Greece as to your own safety. Not to attack any one; to be always prepared against an attack; these means do not always appear to you sufficient to secure the happiness of a people. You wish never to repel insult, but when some real prejudice results from it to the country: a fatal maxim, which, if adopted by the neighbouring nations, would scarcely secure you from their invasions.

"O Lacedæmonians! your conduct is too strongly tinctured with the simplicity of the first ages. Other times demand other manners, and another system. Immobility of principles can suit only a state certain of enjoying an eternal peace; but when, by her connections with other nations, the interests of a city become more complicated, she must recur to a more refined policy. Abjure then, after the example of the Athenians, that uprightness which cannot accommodate itself to events; lay aside that indolence which keeps you shut up within the precincts of your walls, make an irruption into

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Attica, and force not your allies, your faithful friends, to throw themſelves into the arms of your enemies. Then, placed at the head of the nations of Peloponneſus, you will ſhow yourſelves worthy of the empire our anceſtors beſtowed on your virtues."

Some Athenian deputies, brought by other affairs to Lacedæmon, deſired to ſpeak; not to reply to the accuſations they had heard, the Lacedæmonians were not their judges; they wiſhed only to induce the aſſembly to ſuſpend a deciſion which might be followed by the moſt fatal conſequences [x].

They reminded the Lacedæmonians with much complacency of the battles of Marathon and Salamis. Theſe the Athenians had gained: they had expelled the barbarians, and ſaved Greece. A people capable of ſuch great achievements doubtleſs merited ſome attention. "Envy," ſaid they, "now imputes to them as a crime the authority they exerciſe over part of the Grecian ſtates; but it is Lacedæmon who has transferred to them that right: they preſerve it, becauſe it could not be abandoned without danger: they exert it, however, with mildneſs, and not with ſeverity; and if they are ſometimes obliged to employ rigour, it is from the impoſſibility of retaining the weak in ſubjection by other means than force. Let Lacedæmon ceaſe to liſten to the unjuſt complaints of the allies of Athens, and the jealous anger of her own: let her, before ſhe takes a part in the diſpute, reflect on the importance of the intereſts about to be diſcuſſed, and on the uncertainty of the events which may follow a deciſion. Away with that intoxication that allows nations only to liſten to the voice of reaſon, when they have ſunk into the depths of miſery; which makes every war terminate but where it ſhould have begun. There is yet time, and we may bring our differences to an amicable concluſion, by the mode preſcribed to us by treaties: but if, in contempt of oaths, you

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 72.

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break the truce, we will take the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witness, and prepare for the most vigorous defence."

Having ended this harangue, the ambassadors quitted the assembly; and king Archidamus, who united long experience to profound wisdom, perceiving, from the agitation of mens minds, that war was inevitable, was desirous at least to retard the decisive moment.

"People of Lacedæmon," said he [y], "I have been witness of many wars, as have also several amongst you, and am for that very reason but the more disposed to fear for the event of that you are about to undertake. Without preparations, and without resources, you are going to attack a nation expert in naval affairs, formidable from the number of its soldiers and its ships, and rich from the productions of its country and the tributes of its allies. What is to inspire you with this confidence? Is it your fleet? What a length of time will it require to restore it? Is it the state of your finances? We have no public treasury [z], and individuals are poor. Is it the hope of detaching from Athens her allies [a]? but as the greater part of them are islanders, you must be masters of the sea, to excite and maintain their defection. Is it the project of ravaging the plains of Attica, and of terminating this mighty quarrel in one campaign? Alas! do you imagine that the loss of a single harvest in a country with a flourishing commerce, will engage the Athenians to sue to you for peace? Ah! how much more do I dread that we shall be compelled to leave this war as a wretched inheritance to our children! The hostilities of cities and individuals are transient; but when war is once enkindled between two powerful states, it is as difficult to foresee the consequences, as to extricate ourselves with honour.

"I am not of opinion that we should abandon our allies to oppression; I only say, that, previous to taking arms, we

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 79.
[z] Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 217.
[a] Thucyd. ibid.

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ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the Athenians, and open a negotiation. They have juſt propoſed to us this mode; and it were injuſtice to refuſe it. In the interval, we ſhall addreſs ourſelves to the nations of Greece, and, ſince neceſſity requires it, to the barbarians themſelves, in order to obtain ſuccours in money and ſhips. If the Athenians reject our complaints, we will repeat them after two or three years preparations, when we ſhall perhaps find them more tractable.

"The tardineſs imputed to us has always conſtituted our ſecurity; never have praiſes or reproaches excited us to raſh enterpriſes. We are not ſkilled enough to depreciate, by eloquent harangues, the power of our enemies; but we know, that, to enable us to conquer, we muſt eſteem them, judge of their conduct by our own, guard ourſelves againſt their prudence, as well as againſt their valour, and reckon leſs upon their errors than on the wiſdom of our own precautions. We are of opinion, that one man does not differ from another; but that the moſt formidable is he, who, on critical occaſions, conducts himſelf with the moſt prudence and wiſdom.

"Let us not deviate from the maxims we have received from our fathers, and which have preſerved this ſtate. Deliberate at leiſure; let not a ſingle moment decide on your properties, your glory, the blood of ſo many citizens, and the deſtiny of ſo many nations; let war be prepared for, but declare it not; make your preparations as if you expected nothing from your negotiations; and reflect that theſe meaſures are the moſt uſeful to your country, and the beſt adapted to intimidate the Athenians."

The harangue of Archidamus would perhaps have prevented the Lacedæmonians from immediately reſolving on war, had not Sthenelaidas, one of the ephori, to divert its effect, immediately exclaimed [b]:

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[b] Id. lib. 1. cap. 86.

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"I can nnderſtand nothing of the verboſe eloquence of the Athenians: their own eulogium is their inexhauſtible theme, but they never utter a ſingle word which makes for their defence. The more irreproachable their conduct in the Median war, the more diſgraceful is it at this day; and I declare them doubly culpable, ſince they were virtuous, and have ceaſed to be ſo. As for us, ever the ſame, we will not betray our allies, but defend them with the ſame ardour with which they are attacked. The queſtion, however, is not now reſpecting ſpeeches and diſcuſſions; it is not by words that our allies have been injured. The moſt ſpeedy vengeance alone can now befit the dignity of Sparta; and let it not be ſaid that we ſhould deliberate after receiving an inſult; our enemies ſhould have deliberated before they inſulted us. Give your voices then for war, O Lacedæmonians! and at length preſcribe ſome limits to the injuſtice and ambition of the Athenians. Let us march, ſecure of the protection of the gods, againſt theſe invaders of liberty."

He ſpoke, and inſtantly called on the people to give their ſuffrages. Many of the aſſembly ſupported the opinion of the king; but the greater number voted that the Athenians had broken the truce, and it was determined to convoke a general council of their allies, to proceed to a final reſolution.

All the deputies being arrived, the queſtion was again diſcuſſed, and war determined on by the plurality of voices [c]. As no preparations, however, were yet made, the Lacedæmonians were deſired to ſend deputies to the Athenians, and to lay before them the complaints of the confederated ſtates of Peloponneſus.

The object of the firſt embaſſy was only to obtain the baniſhment of Pericles, or to render him odious to the multitude [d]. The ambaſſadors made a pretext of motives foreign

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 125.

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 126.

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from the differences in question, and which made no impression on the Athenians.

New deputies offered to continue the truce; they proposed some conditions, and finally limited their demands to the revocation of that decree which interdicted the commerce of Attica to the inhabitants of Megara [e]. Pericles replied, that the laws did not allow them to remove the tablet on which this decree was inscribed. "If you cannot remove it," said one of the ambassadors, "only turn it; your laws do not forbid that [f]."

In fine, in a third embassy, the deputies contented themselves with saying: "The Lacedæmonians desire peace, and make it depend only on one point. Permit the Grecian cities to govern themselves according to their laws [g]."

This proposition was discussed, as well as the preceding ones, in the assembly of the people. Opinions being divided, Pericles lost no time in mounting the rostrum. He represented, that, conformably to treaties, the differences arising between the contracting cities ought to be discussed by pacific methods, and that, in the interim, each should enjoy what it possessed. "In contempt of this formal decision," said Pericles, "the Lacedæmonians imperiously signify to us their will, and, leaving us no alternative but war or submission, command us to renounce the advantages we have gained over their allies. Do they not publicly declare that peace depends solely on the decree passed against Megara? and do not several among you cry out, that so trifling a subject should not induce us to take up arms? Athenians, such offers are but a palpable snare; we must reject them, till they treat with us on a footing of equality. Every nation that pretends to dictate laws to a rival nation, holds out chains to it. Should you give way on a single point, they will imagine they have

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 139.
[f] Plut. in Per. p. 168.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 139.

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made you fear them, and from that hour will impose on you still more humiliating conditions[h].

"And what have you at present to apprehend from that crowd of nations, who differ as much in their character as in their origin? What prolixity in the convocation of their assemblies! What confusion in the discussion of their interests! They employ one moment in consulting for the general welfare, but appropriate the remainder of their time to their particular advantages. These think only of their vengeance; those of nothing but their safety; and almost all of them, relying on each other for their preservation, rush, without perceiving it, on their common ruin[i]."

Pericles next showed, that the Peloponnesian allies, not being in a condition to make many campaigns, the best method to ensure success would be to weary them out, and oppose a war by sea to their attacks by land. "They will make inroads," continued he, "into Attica; but our fleets will ravage their coasts, and they will be unable to repair their losses, whilst we shall have lands enough to cultivate, either in the islands or on the continent. The empire of the sea gives such a superiority, that were you in an island, no power would venture to attack you. No longer consider Athens as any other than a fortress, separated as it were from the land; line the walls that defend it, and fill the ships that are in its harbours with soldiers. Let the adjacent country be considered as foreign to you, and become the prey of the enemy before your eyes. Do not yield to the senseless rashness of opposing your valour to the superiority of numbers. A victory would soon draw upon you greater armies; a defeat excite those allies we retain in their duty only by force to a revolt. It is not for the destruction of your estates that you should weep, but for the loss of soldiers you must incur in a battle. Oh! did I but possess the powers of per-

h Id. ibid. cap. 140.

i Id. ibid. cap. 141.

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ſuaſion, I would propoſe to you this very inſtant to carry fire and ſword through our fields, and the buildings with which they are covered; that the Lacedæmonians might learn no longer to regard them as pledges of our ſervitude [k].

"I ſhould have other promiſes of certain victory to offer you, were I aſſured that, from the apprehenſion of adding new dangers to thoſe of war, you would not ſtrive to combat with the view of conqueſt; for I am more fearful of your errors than of the projects of the enemy. But we muſt now anſwer the deputies; firſt, that the Megareans ſhall be allowed ſtill to trade with Attica, if the Lacedæmonians will no longer forbid us and our allies to enter their city; ſecondly, that the Athenians will reſtore to the ſtates they have ſubjected the liberty they formerly enjoyed, if the Lacedæmonians will do the ſame by the cities which depend on them; thirdly, that the league of Athens offers that of Peloponneſus amicably to terminate the differences which at preſent ſubſiſt between them [l]."

After this anſwer, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors withdrew, and both ſides employed themſelves in preparations for the longeſt and moſt fatal war that ever deſolated Greece *. It laſted ſeven and twenty years [m]; and originated in the ambition of the Athenians, and the juſt fears with which they inſpired the Lacedæmonians and their allies. The enemies of Pericles accuſed him of having promoted it; and it ſeems undeniable that it was uſeful to the reſtoration of his authority.

The Lacedæmonians had for their allies the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, the people of Megaris, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, and all Peloponneſus, except the Argives, who obſerved a neutrality [n].

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[k] Id. ibid. cap. 143.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 144.
* In the ſpring of the year 431 before Chriſt.
[m] Id. lib. 5. cap. 26.
[n] Id. lib. 2. cap. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 99.

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On the side of the Athenians were the Grecian cities situated on the coasts of Asia, those of Thrace and the Hellespont, almost the whole of Acarnania, some other smaller cities, and all the islands, except those of Melos and of Thera. Besides these succours, they were themselves able to furnish the league with thirteen thousand soldiers heavily armed, twelve hundred cavalry, sixteen hundred archers on foot, and three hundred galleys. Sixteen thousand men, chosen from among the citizens too old or too young for the service of the field, and the strangers settled in Athens, were employed to defend the walls of the city, and the fortresses of Attica [o].

Six thousand talents * were deposited in the citadel. In case of need, upwards of five hundred more † could be procured by melting the sacred vessels, and other resources which Pericles indicated to the people.

Such were the forces of the Athenians, when Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, after halting at the isthmus of Corinth, and receiving from each confederated city of Peloponnesus two thirds of the inhabitants able to bear arms [p], advanced slowly towards Attica, at the head of sixty thousand men [q]. He attempted to renew the negotiation, and with that view sent an ambassador to the Athenians, who refused to receive him, and commanded him instantly to quit the territories of the republic [r]. Archidamus now continuing his march, spread his army, in the time of harvest, over the plains of Attica. The wretched inhabitants had retired at his approach [s], and transported their effects to Athens, where the greatest part of them found no other asylum but the temples, the tombs, the towers of the ramparts, the obscurest of hovels, and the most desolate places. To their regret at having left their ancient and peaceful habitations was added the afflicting circumstance of beholding at a distance

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[o] Id. ibid. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 97.

* 32,400,000 livres (or 1,350,000 l. sterling).

† 2,700,000 livres (or 112,500 l. sterling).

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[q] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.

[r] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 12.

[s] Id ibid. cap. 14.

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their houſes conſumed by the flames, and the fruits of their fields abandoned to the ſword of the enemy [t].

The Athenians, conſtrained to endure inſults, aggravated by the recollection of ſo many glorious exploits, vented their rage and indignation in the moſt furious exclamations againſt Pericles, who held their valour enchained [u]. But that ſtateſman anſwering only by his ſilence to either their prayers or menaces, diſpatched a fleet of an hundred ſail for Peloponneſus [x], and repreſſed the public clamour ſolely by the energy and dignity of his character.

Archidamus, no longer finding ſubſiſtence in Attica, led back his army, laden with plunder, into Peloponneſus. The Lacedæmonians and their allies returned home, and did not again make their appearance for the remainder of the year. After their retreat, Pericles ſent a ſquadron againſt the Locrians, which gained ſome advantages [y]. The grand fleet, after ſpreading deſolation along the coaſts of Peloponneſus, took, in its return, the iſland of Ægina [z]; and ſoon after, the Athenians marched in a body againſt the inhabitants of Megara, and ravaged their country [a]. The following winter they honoured by public funerals thoſe who had fallen in battle; and Pericles eternized their renown in an eloquent harangue. The Corinthians fitted out forty galleys, made a deſcent in Acarnania, and retreated with loſs [b]. Thus terminated the firſt campaign.

Thoſe which ſucceeded, in like manner preſent only a ſucceſſion of partial actions, haſty excurſions, and enterpriſes that ſeem foreign to the object propoſed on either ſide. Whence happened it that nations ſo warlike, and ſuch near neighbours, animated by an ancient jealouſy, and recent animoſities, ſhould attempt nothing but to ſurpriſe and avoid

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 17 et 21.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 22.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 23. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 27.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 33 et 34.

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each other, to divide their forces, and, by a multitude of desultory diversions, without splendour or danger, to multiply and prolong the miseries of war? The cause certainly could only be the impossibility of conducting this war in the manner of any other.

The Peloponnesian league was so superior in land forces, that the Athenians could not risk a general action without exposing themselves to certain ruin. The states which formed that league were ignorant of the art of attacking towns: they had recently failed before a little fortress of Attica [c], nor did they afterwards gain possession of the city of Plataea in Bœotia, defended by a feeble garrison, till after a blockade of near two years, which compelled the inhabitants to surrender for want of provisions [d]. How, therefore, could they flatter themselves that they should be able to take by assault, or reduce by famine, such a city as Athens, which could be defended by thirty thousand men, and which, being mistress of the sea, might be easily supplied with the necessary subsistence?

Accordingly, all the enemy could effect was to destroy the harvests of Attica, which they regularly practised in the first years of the war; but these inroads were necessarily but transient, since the invaders, being extremely poor, and wanted at home for their rustic labours, could not long remain in arms, and in a distant country [e]. They at length resolved to augment the number of their ships; but many years were requisite to acquire the knowledge of managing them, and to attain that experience which the practice of fifty years had procured the Athenians [f]. The skill of the latter was so decidely superior at the commencement of the war, that their smallest squadrons did not hesitate to attack the largest fleets of the Peloponnesians [g].

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[c] Id. ibid. cap. 19.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 78; lib. 3. cap. 20. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 102 et 109.
[e] Id. lib. 1. cap. 141.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 142.
[g] Id. lib. 2. cap. 88.

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In the seventh year of the war *, the Lacedæmonians, to save four hundred and twenty of their soldiers [h], besieged by the Athenians in an island, demanded peace, and delivered up about sixty galleys, which were to be restored to them in case the prisoners were not set at liberty. They never were given up; and the Athenians detaining the vessels [i], the Peloponnesian navy was destroyed. Its restoration was retarded by various incidents until the twentieth year of the war, when the king of Persia engaged by promises and treaties to provide for its maintenance [k]. The Lacedæmonian league now covered the sea with their ships [l]; the two states attacked each other more directly, till, after alternate successes and reverses of fortune, the power of Athens yielded to that of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

Nor were the Athenians, on their side, better able to give law to Greece by the number of their ships, than their enemies by their numerous land forces. When the former appeared with their fleets in places where the Peloponnesians had possessions, their utmost attempts were confined to laying waste a part of the coast, making themselves masters of a defenceless town, and laying contributions without venturing to penetrate into the country. Was it necessary to lay siege to some strong hold in a distant country, though they possessed more resources than the Lacedæmonians, the tediousness of the operations exhausted their finances, and the inconsiderable number of troops they were able to employ. The taking of Potidæa cost them a great number of soldiers, the labour of two years and a half, and two thousand talents † [m].

Thus, from the extreme diversity of forces, and their excessive disproportion, the war must inevitably be spun out to

* Towards the year 424 before C.
h Id. lib. 4. cap. 8.
i Id. ibid. cap. 16 et 23.
k Id. lib. 8. cap. 5. 18. 36. 45. &c.
l Id. ibid. cap 3.

† 10,800,000 livres, (or 450,000 l. sterling).
m Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 64; lib. 2. cap. 70. Dodwell, in Thucyd. p. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 102.

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a great length: and this Archidamus and Pericles [n], the two ablest politicians of Greece, had foreseen; with this difference, that the former imagined that delay was what the Lacedæmonians had most to fear, and the latter, that it was a desirable circumstance for the Athenians.

It was by no means difficult likewise to foresee that the conflagration would break out, be extinguished, and rage anew at intervals amongst all the different states. As the neighbouring cities were divided by separate interests, and some detached themselves, on the slightest pretext, from the confederation, whilst others remained a prey to factions perpetually fomented by Athens and Lacedæmon, it could not but unavoidably happen that war was waged between state and state in the same province, between city and city in the same state, and between party and party in the same city.

Thucydides, Xenophon, and other celebrated authors, have depicted the miseries resulting from these long and fatal dissensions. Without following them through minute details only interesting to the people of Greece, I shall relate a few of the events which more particularly respect the Athenians.

At the commencement of the second year, the enemy returned into Attica, and the plague broke out in Athens [o]. Never did this dreadful scourge ravage so many climates. Proceeding from Æthiopia, it had visited Egypt, Libya, part of Persia, the isle of Lemnos, and other places. A merchant-ship had no doubt brought it into the Piræus, where it made its first appearance, and whence it spread with fury over the city, and raged more particularly in those obscure and unwholesome dwellings in which the inhabitants of the country were crowded together.

The malady successively attacked all parts of the body [p]: its symptoms were dreadful, its progress rapid, and the con-

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[n] Id. ibid. cap. 81 et 141.
[o] Id. lib. 2. cap. 47.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 49. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. Diod. Sic. p. 101. Lucr. lib. 6.

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ſequences almoſt always mortal. From the firſt appearance of infection the mind loſt its powers, the body ſeemed to acquire new ſtrength, and it was a cruel ſuffering to reſiſt the diſorder without being able to ſupport the pain. Sleepleſs nights, terrors, inceſſant hiccups, and terrifying convulſions, were not the only torments endured by the ſick. A burning heat devoured their entrails. The wretched ſufferers, covered with ulcers and livid ſpots, their eyes inflamed, their lungs oppreſſed, their bowels torn with agony, and exhaling a fetid odour from their mouths, polluted with an impure blood, were ſeen dragging the miſerable remains of themſelves through the ſtreets to ſeek a freer reſpiration, and, unable to extinguiſh the burning thirſt which conſumed their vitals, precipitating themſelves into wells, or rivers covered with flakes of ice.

The greateſt part periſhed on the ſeventh or ninth day; or if their lives were prolonged beyond that term, they only ſuffered a more painful and more lingering death.

Such as did not ſink under the malady were ſcarcely ever attacked a ſecond time [q]. A feeble conſolation! for they now preſented to the eye only the wretched relics of themſelves. Some had loſt the uſe of ſeveral of their limbs; others retained no idea of the paſt: happy doubtleſs in the unconſciouſneſs of their condition; but they were unable to recognize their friends [r]!

The ſame mode of treatment alternately produced ſalutary and injurious effects: the diſorder ſeemed to ſet all rules and experience at defiance. As it likewiſe raged in many of the Perſian provinces, king Artaxerxes reſolved to invite to their aſſiſtance the celebrated Hippocrates, then in the iſle of Cos [s]: he made him the moſt ſplendid offers of wealth and honours; but the great man replied to the great king, that he had neither wants nor deſires, and that he owed his ſkill

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 51.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 49.
[s] Suid. in Hippocr.

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to Greece rather than to her enemies [t]. He then came to offer his services to the Athenians, who received him with the more gratitude, as the greater part of their physicians had fallen victims to their zeal. He exhausted all the resources of his art, and often exposed his life. If he obtained not all the success due to such noble and generous conduct, and such superior talents, he at least distributed hope and consolation. It is said that, to purify the air, he caused great fires to be kindled in the streets of Athens [u]; others assert that this method was employed not unsuccessfully by a physician of Agrigentum, named Acron [x].

At the beginning of this dreadful calamity, sublime examples of filial piety and generous friendship were displayed; but as the consequences were almost always fatal to the children and the friends, they were but rarely repeated afterwards. Then the most respectable ties were broken; the eyes about to close for ever, beheld on all sides only the most profound solitude [y], and death no longer produced a tear.

This callous insensibility gave birth to an unbridled licentiousness. The death of so many worthy men, mingled without distinction in the same tomb with villians; the destruction of so many fortunes, become suddenly the inheritance or prey of the lowest citizens, made a lively impression on those who have no other principle but fear. Persuaded that the gods no longer protected or regarded virtue, and that the vengeance of the laws could not be so prompt as the death impending over them, they imagined that the instability of human possessions pointed out the use that they should make of them, and that having but a few moments to live, they were justified at least in passing them in the midst of pleasures [z].

At the end of two years, the plague seemed to be appeased, During this interval of cessation, it was more than once discovered that the seeds of the contagion were not eradicated:

[t] Plut. in Cat. t. i. p. 350. Galen. Quod Opt. Med. t. i.

[u] Ap. Hippocr. t. ii. p. 970.

[x] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 383.

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 51.

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 53.

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it broke out again eighteen months after, and during the course of a whole year renewed the same scenes of distress and horror [a]. At both these times, a great number of citizens perished, among whom are to be reckoned near five thousand men able to bear arms. The most irreparable loss was that of Pericles, who died of the consequences of this distemper [b] in the third year of the war *. Some time before, the Athenians, exasperated by the extremity of their sufferings, had deprived him of his authority, and condemned him to a fine: they had recently acknowledged their injustice, and Pericles had granted them his forgiveness [c], though he resumed his authority with disgust, from the fickleness of the people, and the loss of his family and the greater part of his friends, who had been carried off by the plague.

When he was about to yield his last breath, and no longer showed any signs of life, the leading men of Athens, assembled around his bed, were soothing their affliction by recounting his victories and the number of his trophies: "These actions," said he to them, raising himself up with difficulty, "are the work of fortune, and common to myself with other generals. The only eulogium I merit, is, that I have never been the cause that any citizen should wear mourning [d]."

If, conformably to the plan of Pericles, the Athenians had continued an offensive war by sea, and a defensive one by land [e]; if, renouncing every idea of conquest, they had not risked the safety of the state by rash enterprises, they sooner or later must have triumphed over their enemies, as they on the whole did them more injury than they could receive from them, and as the league they headed was almost entirely under their command, whilst that of the Peloponnesus, com-

[a] Id. lib. 3. cap. 87.
[b] Id. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 173.
* The year 429 before Christ, towards the autumn.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 172.
[d] Plut. in Per. p. 173.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65.

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posed of independent nations, might every instant be dissolved. But Pericles died, and was succeeded in his authority by Cleon.

This man was of no family, nor possessed of any real talents, but vain, daring, and violent [f], and on that account acceptable to the multitude. He had attached them to him by his largesses; he retained them by inspiring them with a high idea of the power of Athens, and a sovereign contempt for that of Lacedæmon [g]. He it was who, one day assembling his friends, declared to them that, being on the point of administering the public affairs, he renounced all connections that might possibly induce him to commit injustice [h]. He was, notwithstanding, the most greedy and most unjust of men.

The honest part of the citizens opposed to him Nicias, one of the most considerable and wealthiest individuals of Athens, who had commanded armies and obtained several advantages. He had gained the favour of the multitude by festivals and acts of liberality [i]: but as he was diffident of himself and of fortune [k], and his successes had only served to render him more timid, he obtained respect, but never a superiority of influence in the public assemblies. Reason spoke coldly from his mouth, whilst the people required strong emotions, and Cleon excited them by his declamations, his noise, and furious gestures [l]. The latter succeeding by accident in an enterprise that Nicias had refused to undertake, the Athenians, who had ridiculed their own choice, from that moment abandoned themselves with more confidence to his counsels. They rejected proposals of peace which had been made by the enemy [m], and placed him at the head of the forces they were sending into Thrace to check the progress of Brasidas, the ablest general of Lacedæmon. He there drew upon himself

f Id. lib. 3. cap. 36.
g Id. lib. 4. cap. 28.
h Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806.
i Plut. in Nic. p. 524.
k Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 16.
l Plut. in Nic. p. 528.
m Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 647 et 664.

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the contempt of both armies, and, approaching the enemy without caution, suffered his army to be surprised, was one of the first to fly, and lost his life [n].

After his death, Nicias no longer finding any obstacle to peace, entered into negotiations, which were soon followed by an offensive and defensive alliance *, by which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were to be firmly united for fifty years [o]. The conditions of the treaty restored every thing to the same situation in which it had been previous to the commencement of the war. Ten years, however, had elapsed since that period, and both states had been enfeebled to no purpose.

At length they flattered themselves they should be able to taste the sweets of tranquillity; but their alliance gave birth to new leagues and new dissensions. Several of the allies of Lacedæmon complained of not being comprehended in the treaty; and, uniting with the Argives, who had hitherto remained neuter, declared against the Lacedæmonians. On the other hand, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians reciprocally charged each other with not fulfilling the articles of the treaty: hence arose misunderstandings and hostilities. But it was not until the expiration of six years and ten months † that they proceeded to an open rupture [p]; a rupture founded on the most frivolous pretext, and which might easily have been prevented, had not war been necessary to the ambitious projects of Alcibiades.

Some historians have stigmatized the memory of this Athenian with every reproach, and others honoured it with every elogium, without its being possible for us to charge the former with injustice or the latter with partiality [q]. It seems as if nature had exerted herself to unite in him the most striking extremes she can produce either of vice or virtue [r].

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[n] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 10.
* The year 421 before Christ.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 17. 18. &c.
† The year 414 before Christ.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[q] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11.
[r] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.

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We ſhall here conſider him as connected with the ſtate, the ruin of which he accelerated; and afterwards as related to the ſociety of which he completed the corruption.

An illuſtrious birth, conſiderable riches, a moſt diſtinguiſhed figure, graces the moſt ſeductive, a diſcerning and comprehenſive mind, the honour, in fine, of a connection with Pericles; ſuch were the advantages that firſt dazzled the Athenians, and with which none were ſo ſoon dazzled as himſelf [s].

At an age when we ſtand in need only of advice and indulgence, he had a train of flatterers; he aſtoniſhed his maſters by his docility, and his fellow citizens by the licentiouſneſs of his conduct. Socrates, who early foreſaw that this young man would prove the moſt dangerous, if he did not become the moſt uſeful of the citizens of Athens, ſtudiouſly ſought his friendſhip, obtained it by aſſiduous attention, and never loſt it [t]: he undertook to moderate that vanity which could neither bear a ſuperior or an equal; and ſuch was the aſcendency of reaſon, or of virtue, on theſe occaſions, that the diſciple wept over his errors, and ſuffered himſelf to be humiliated without a murmur [u].

When he entered the path of popular honours, he wiſhed to owe his ſucceſs leſs to the ſplendour of his magnificence and liberalities, than to the charms of his eloquence [x]. He made his appearance in the roſtrum. A ſlight defect of pronunciation gave to his ſpeech all the ſimple and native graces of early youth [y]; and though he ſometimes heſitated to find the proper word, he was regarded as one of the greateſt orators of Athens [z]. He had already given proofs of his valour; and from his firſt campaigns, all preſaged that he would one day become the ableſt general in Greece. I

[s] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 104. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130. Plut. in Alcib. &c.

[t] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 103. Id. in Conv. t. iii. p. 215, &c.

[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193 et 194.

[x] Id. ibid. p. 195.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 192. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 44.

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 626. Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130.

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ſhall ſay nothing of his mildneſs, his affability, nor of innumerable other qualities which concurred to render him the moſt amiable of men.

That elevation of ſentiment produced by virtue was not to be ſought in his heart; but in it was found that intrepidity [a] which is inſpired by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority. No obſtacle, no danger, could either ſurpriſe or diſcourage him; he ſeemed perſuaded, that when ſouls of a certain order do not perform all they wiſh, it is becauſe they have not courage to attempt all they can. Compelled by circumſtances to ſerve the enemies of his country, it was as eaſy for him to acquire their confidence by the aſcendancy he had over them, as to govern them by the wiſdom of his counſels: he poſſeſſed this pre-eminence peculiar to himſelf, that he uniformly procured a triumph for the party that he favoured, and that his numerous great actions were never tarniſhed by a ſingle reverſe of fortune [b].

In negotiations, he ſometimes employed the light of his underſtanding, which was as vigorous as profound; ſometimes he had recourſe to ſtratagems and perfidy, which no reaſons of ſtate can ever juſtify [c]; on other occaſions he availed himſelf of the pliability of a character which the thirſt of power or the deſire of pleaſing accommodated, without difficulty, to every conjuncture and change of ſituation. In every nation, he commanded reſpect, and ſwayed the public opinion. The Spartans admired his frugality; the Thracians his intemperance; the Bœotians his love of the moſt violent exerciſes; the Ionians his taſte for indolence and voluptuouſneſs; the ſatraps of Aſia a luxury they could not equal [d]. He would have ſhown himſelf the moſt virtuous of men, had he never known the example of vice; but vice hurried him on without making him its ſlave. It ſhould ſeem as if the

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 191.
[b] Plut. in Coriol. p. 233. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 45; lib. 8 cap. 82. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 203. Nep. ibid. cap 11.

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profanation of laws and the corruption of manners were considered by him only as so many victories gained over manners and the laws; it might be said too, that his faults were no more than the errors of his vanity. Those excesses of levity, frivolity, and imprudence which escaped his youth or idle hours, were no longer seen on occasions that demanded firmness and reflection. He then united prudence with activity [e]; and pleasure never stole from him any of those moments which were necessary to the advancement of his glory, or the promotion of his interest.

His vaniy could not but sooner or later have degenerated into ambition; for it was impossible but that a man so superior to others, and so inflamed with the desire of ruling, should have concluded by exacting obedience, after exhausting admiration. Accordingly, he was all his life jealously watched by the leading citizens, some of whom dreaded his talents, others his excesses [f], and alternately adored, feared, and hated by the people, to whom he had rendered himself necessary [g]; and as the sentiments of which he was the object, were converted into violent passions, it was with paroxysms of joy or fury [h] that the Athenians raised him to honours, condemned him to death, banished, recalled, and a second time proscribed him.

One day, when, from the height of the rostrum, he had gained the suffrages of the people, and was returning home, escorted by the whole assembly, he was met by Timon, usually called the misanthropist, who, shaking him by the hand, said, "Courage, my boy; continue to advance thyself to power and honour, and I shall be indebted to thee for the ruin of Athens [i]."

In another moment of intoxication, the lower order of the people proposed to restore the kingly power in his favour [k];

[e] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.
[f] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 15. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[g] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1472.
[h] Justin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[i] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 210.

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but as he would not have been contented with being only a king, the petty ſovereignty of Athens was not ſufficient for his ambition; that could only be ſatisfied by a vaſt empire, which would enable him to conquer others.

Born in a republic, he wiſhed to raiſe her above herſelf, before he attempted to lay her at his feet. This undoubtedly was the ſecret of thoſe ſplendid enterpriſes into which he hurried the Athenians. With their ſoldiers he would have ſubjected nations, and the Athenians would have found themſelves imperceptibly enſlaved.

His firſt diſgrace, by checking him almoſt at the outſet of his career, only ſhows us this truth, that his genius and projects were too vaſt for the happineſs of his country. It has been ſaid that Greece could not bear two Alcibiadeſes [l]; it ſhould be added, that Athens had one too many. He it was who determined her to undertake the Sicilian war.

The Athenians had for ſome time meditated the conqueſt of that rich and powerful iſland. Their ambition, repreſſed by Pericles, was ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Alcibiades. Flattering dreams traced out every night to his imagination the immortal glory which was about to crown him. Sicily was only to be the theatre of his firſt exploits; in fancy he had already made himſelf maſter of Africa, Italy, and Peloponneſus; and he every day amuſed with his vaſt projects the impetuous youth who followed his footſteps, and who were entirely at his diſpoſal [m].

Whilſt affairs were thus circumſtanced, the city of Ægeſta in Sicily, which complained of being oppreſſed by the inhabitants of Selinus and Syracuſe, implored the aſſiſtance of her allies the Athenians; ſhe offered to indemnify them for their expences, and repreſented, that if they did not ſpeedily ſtop the progreſs of the Syracuſans, that people would not be long before they joined their troops to thoſe of Lacedæmon. The republic ſent deputies into Sicily, who, on their return, made

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[l] Archeſt. ap. Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. [m] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

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an unfaithful report of the ſtate of things. The expedition was reſolved on, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus were named for generals; and ſo certain did the Athenians deem themſelves of ſucceſs, that the ſenate previouſly regulated the fate of the different ſtates of Sicily.

The ſenſible part of the citizens, however, were the more alarmed at theſe proceedings, as they had hitherto no accurate idea of the extent, forces, and riches of that iſland [n]. Notwithſtanding the law which forbids the revocation of a decree paſſed by all the orders of the ſtate, Nicias remonſtrated with the aſſembly, that the republic, not having been able yet to terminate the differences which had ariſen between her and the Lacedæmonians, the ſubſiſting peace was no more than a ſuſpenſion of arms; that her true enemies were in Peloponneſus, who only waited the departure of the army to pour into Attica; that the quarrels of the Sicilian cities had no connection with the Athenians; that it was the height of extravagance to ſacrifice the ſafety of the ſtate to the vanity or the intereſt of a young man, anxious to diſplay his magnificence in the ſight of the army; that ſuch citizens were formed only for the ruin of the ſtate, by ruining themſelves; and that it as ill became them to deliberate on ſuch weighty enterpriſes, as to carry them into execution [o].

"I behold with many fears," added Nicias, "that numerous band of youth who ſurround him, and whoſe ſuffrages he directs. Reſpectable old men, I ſolicit your voices, in the name of your country; and you, magiſtrates, call the people once more to the queſtion, and if the laws forbid it, reflect that the firſt of laws is the preſervation of the ſtate."

Alcibiades now addreſſed the aſſembly, and repreſented, that the Athenians, by protecting oppreſſed nations, had attained their preſent height of glory and of power [p]; that

[n] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 1.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 18.

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it was no longer permitted them to abandon themselves to a repose too capable of enervating the courage and spirit of their troops; that they would one day be subjected themselves, if, from the present moment, they did not subject others; that many of the Sicilian cities were peopled only by barbarians or foreigners, insensible to the honour of their country, and ever ready to change masters; that others, weary of their divisions, waited only the arrival of the fleet, to submit to the Athenians; that the conquest of this island would facilitate that of all Greece; that, on the slightest reverse of fortune, they would find an asylum in their ships; that the splendour of this expedition alone would astonish the Lacedæmonians; and that, should the latter hazard an irruption into Attica, it would succeed no better than the former.

As for the reproaches which personally regarded him, he answered, that his magnificence had hitherto served only to inspire the nations of Greece with a high idea of the power of the Athenians, and to procure a sufficient degree of authority to himself, in order to detach whole nations from the Peloponnesian league. "Besides," added he, "since I am to share the command of the army with Nicias, if my youth and follies have given any alarm, you will take courage from the good fortune that has always crowned his undertakings [q]."

This harangue inspired the Athenians with new ardour. Their first project was to send only sixty galleys into Sicily. Nicias, indirectly to divert them from it, represented, that, besides, the fleet, a land army would be necessary; and drew a terrifying picture of the preparations, expences, and number of troops such an expedition would require; when a voice from the midst of the assembly exclaimed, "Nicias, we have nothing more to do with all these subtleties; inform us explicitly what number of soldiers and ships you judge actually

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

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neceſſary [r]." Nicias anſwering that he would conſult on the ſubject with the other generals, the aſſembly gave them full power to diſpoſe of all the orces of the republic.

The troops were ready to embark [s], when Alcibiades was accuſed of having, with ſome companions of his debaucheries, mutilated the ſtatues of Mercury which the inhabitants of Athens place before their houſes, and repreſented, at the concluſion of an entertainment, the ceremonies of the awful myſteries of Eleuſis. The people, who would have pardoned him every thing on any other occaſion, breathed nothing but rage and vengeance. Alcibiades, though at firſt terrified at the public indignation, ſoon found himſelf encouraged by the favourable diſpoſition of the fleet and army. He appeared before the aſſembly, and endeavoured to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him, offering himſelf to death, if he ſhould be found guilty, but demanding an exemplary ſatisfaction ſhould his innocence be proved. His enemies, however, procured his trial to be delayed till his return, and obliged him to depart under the weight of an accuſation which held the ſword ſuſpended over his head.

The general rendezvous, as well for the Athenians as their allies, was appointed at Corcyra [t]; from whence the fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, took its departure, and proceeded to Rhegium, at the extremity of Italy *. It had on board five thouſand one hundred heavy armed ſoldiers, among whom were the choſen troops of the Athenians. To theſe were added four hundred and eighty archers, ſeven hundred ſlingers, ſome other light troops, and a ſmall body of cavalry.

The generals had required no greater forces; Nicias never thought of making himſelf maſter of Sicily; Alcibiades imagined that to ſubdue that iſland nothing more was neceſſary than to ſow diviſions. Each of theſe generals manifeſted his

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 27. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 3.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 42, 43, &c.
* The year 415 before Chriſt.

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views in the first council they held before the opening of the campaign. Their instructions prescribed to them, in general terms, to regulate the affairs of Sicily in the manner the most advantageous for the interests of the republic: their particular orders were to protect the Ægestians against the inhabitants of Selinus; and, if circumstances would permit, to engage the Syracusans to restore to the Leontines the possessions of which they had deprived them [u].

Nicias was for adhering to the letter of this decree, and intended, after putting it into execution, to carry back the fleet to the Piræus [x]. Alcibiades maintained, that as it was undoubtedly necessary to signalize such great efforts of the Athenians by some important enterprises, deputies should be sent to the principal cities of Sicily, to excite them against the Syracusans, to procure troops and provisions from them; and, by the effect of these various negotiations, to determine whether to lay siege to Selinus or Syracuse. Lamachus, the third general, proposed to march instantly against the latter city, and take advantage of the panic into which the inhabitants had been thrown by the arrival of the Athenians [y]. The port of Megara, contiguous to Syracuse, would contain the fleet, and a victory could not fail to produce a revolution in Sicily.

The opinion of Lamachus would probably have been justified by success. The Syracusans had taken no precautions against the storm that menaced them; for they could with difficulty persuade themselves that the Athenians would be so mad as to attempt the conquest of such a city as Syracuse. "The people of Athens," exclaimed one of their orators, "should think themselves happy that we have never thought of bringing them under subjection to us [z]."

This project not being agreeable to the two other generals, Lamachus decided in favour of the opinion of Alcibiades.

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[u] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 47.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 49.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 36.

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Whilst the latter had taken Catana by surprise, and Naxos had opened her gates to him; whilst his intrigues were on the point of forcing those of Messana [a], and his hopes were beginning to be realized [b]; a galley sailed from the Piræus with an order for his immediate return to Athens. His enemies had prevailed, and summoned him to appear to answer the accusation, of which they had hitherto suspended the prosecution. They did not dare to arrest him, for fear of an insurrection of the soldiers, and the desertion of the allied troops, who, in general, had come into Sicily only at his request [c]. He had at first determined to stand his trial, and confound his accusers; but when he arrived at Thurium, reflecting on the injustice of the Athenians, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and retired into Peloponnesus [d].

His departure spread discouragement through the army. Nicias, who feared nothing when it was necessary to execute, and every thing when an enterprise was to be planned, suffered the ardour which Alcibiades had excited among the soldiers to subside in inactivity or easy conquests. Yet he saw the moment when an enterprise, the consequences of which he had always dreaded, was on the point of being crowned with the most brilliant success. He had at length determined to lay siege to Syracuse, and conducted his attacks with so much ability, that the inhabitants were inclined to surrender. Already several states of Sicily and Italy had declared in his favour, when a Lacedæmonian general, named Gylippus, entered the besieged city, with a few troops which he had brought from Peloponnesus, or collected in Sicily. Nicias might have prevented him from landing in the island, but lost the opportunity [e]; an irreparable fault, which proved the source of all his misfortunes. Gylippus revived the courage of the Syracusans, defeated the Athenians, and held them

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 51. Plut. in Alcib p. 202.
[b] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 61 Plut. ib. p. 200.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 202.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 104.

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blocked up in their entrenchments. Athens ſent to Sicily another fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy-three galleys, under the command of Demoſthenes and Eurymedon, and a ſecond army of five thouſand men heavily armed, and ſome light troops [f].

Demoſthenes having loſt two thouſand men at the attack of an important poſt, and conſidering that the ſea would ſoon be no longer navigable, and that the troops were waſting away by diſorders, propoſed to abandon the enterpriſe, or tranſport the army to ſome healthier ſituation [g]. When they were on the point of ſetting ſail, Nicias, terrified at an eclipſe of the moon, which ſpread conſternation through the camp, conſulted the augurs, who directed him to wait twenty-ſeven days longer [h].

Before the expiration of this time, the Athenians, vanquiſhed by ſea and land, no longer able to remain under the walls of Syracuſe for want of proviſions, nor to eſcape out of the harbour, the mouth of which was ſhut up by the Syracuſans, took the reſolution to abandon their camp, their ſick, and their ſhips, and retire by land into ſome town of Sicily. They began their march, to the number of forty thouſand men [i], including not only the troops furniſhed them by the ſtates of Italy and Sicily, but the crews of the galleys, the workmen, and ſlaves.

In the mean time, the Syracuſans took poſſeſſion of the defiles of the mountains, and the fords of the rivers; they broke down the bridges, ſeized on the heights, and diſperſed various detachments of cavalry and light troops over the plain. The Athenians, haraſſed and impeded at every ſtep, found themſelves perpetually expoſed on every ſide to the weapons of an enemy whom they were no where able to attack. In this diſtreſs they were animated to perſevere, by the example

f Id. lib. 7. cap. 42.
g Id. ibid. cap. 47 et 49. Juſtin. lib. 4. cap. 5.
h Id. ibid. cap. 50.
i Id. lib. 7. cap. 75.

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of their generals, and the exhortations of Nicias, who, notwithstanding the debility to which he was reduced by a long illness, displayed a courage superior to danger. For eight whole days they had to struggle against new obstacles continually increasing. But Demosthenes, who commanded the rear-guard, composed of six thousand men, losing his way in his march, was pushed into a confined place, and after prodigies of valour, obliged to surrender, on condition that his soldiers should have their lives granted them, and be spared the horrors of a dungeon [k].

Nicias having failed in a negotiation he had entered into, conducted the remainder of his army as far as the river Asinarus [l]. On his arrival there, the greater part of the soldiers, tormented by a burning thirst, rushed in confusion into the river, while others were driven into it by the enemy. Such as attempted to save themselves by swimming, found on the opposite shore steep banks lined with dartmen, who made a terrible slaughter of them. Eight thousand men perished in this attack [m]; till at length Nicias thus addressed Gylippus: "Dispose of me as you shall think proper: but show mercy at least to these unhappy soldiers." Gylippus immediately put an end to the carnage. The Syracusans returned to their city, bringing back with them seven thousand prisoners [n], who were thrown into the quarries, where, for many months, they experienced inconceivable miseries. Numbers of them perished there, and others were sold as slaves.

A still greater number of prisoners became the prize of the officers and soldiers; and all ended their days in chains, except a few of the Athenians, who owed their liberty to the tragedies of Euripides, then scarcely known in Sicily, being generously rewarded with freedom by their masters, for reciting to them the most beautiful passages of that poet [o]. Ni-

k Id. ibid. cap. 82.
l Id. ibid. cap. 84.
m Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 148.
n Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 87.
o Plut. in Nic. p. 542.

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cias and Demosthenes were put to death, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Gylippus to save their lives[p].

Athens, depressed by so unexpected a reverse of fortune, foreboded still greater calamities. Her allies were ready to shake off the yoke; the other states of Greece were conspiring her ruin[q]; the Peloponnesians already thought themselves justified by her example in breaking the truce[r]. Already she discovered in their operations, more skilfully planned and conducted, the spirit of vengeance, and the superior genius by which they were directed. Alcibiades enjoyed at Lacedæmon that respect and influence he every where obtained. It was by his advice that the Lacedæmonians adopted the resolution of sending succours to the Syracusans, renewing their inroads into Attica, and fortifying, at the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from Athens, the post of Decelia, which held that city blocked on the land side[s].

To annihilate the power of Athens, it was necessary to favour the revolt of her allies, and destroy her navy. Alcibiades repaired to the coasts of Asia Minor; and Chios, Miletus, and other flourishing cities, declared for the Lacedæmonians[t]. By his accomplishments he captivated Tissaphernes, the governor of Sardes[u]; and the king of Persia engaged to pay the fleet of Peloponnesus[x].

This second war, conducted with more regularity than the former, would quickly have been terminated, had not Alcibiades, pursued by Agis, king of Lacedæmon, whose wife he had seduced, and by the other chiefs of the league, who took umbrage at his glory, at length considered that, after revenging himself on his country, it now only remained for him to protect it from inevitable ruin[y]. With this view, he contrived to suspend the operations of Tissaphernes, and the

[p] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 86.
[q] Id. lib. 8. cap. 2.
[r] Id. lib. 7. cap. 19.
[s] Id. lib. 6. cap. 91. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[t] Id. lib. 8. cap. 12 et 17.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 5. Justin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[y] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.

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departure of the Perſian ſuccours, under the pretext that it was the intereſt of the great king to ſuffer the nations of Greece mutually to enfeeble each other [z].

The Athenians having ſoon after revoked the decree for his baniſhment, he puts himſelf at their head, reduces the ſtrong holds of the Helleſpont [a], forces one of the Perſian governors to ſign an advantageous treaty with the Athenians [b], and the Lacedæmonians to ſue for peace [c]. Their demand was rejected, for, deeming themſelves invincible henceforward under Alcibiades, the Athenians made a rapid tranſition from the moſt profound conſternation to the moſt inſolent preſumption. The hatred with which they were animated againſt that general was as quickly ſucceeded by the moſt extravagant gratitude, and the moſt unbounded affection.

When he returned to his country, his arrival, his ſtay, the pains he took to juſtify his conduct, were a ſeries of triumphs for himſelf, and of public rejoicings for the multitude [d]. When, amidſt the acclamations of the whole city, they ſaw him ſail from the Piræus with a fleet of a hundred ſhips, no doubt was entertained but that his rapid victories would ſoon force the inhabitants of the Peloponneſus to ſubmit to the law of the conqueror; the arrival of a courier was every moment expected with the news of the deſtruction of the enemy, and the conqueſt of Ionia [e].

In the midſt of theſe flattering expectations, they learned that fifteen of the Athenian galleys had fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. The engagement took place during the abſence, and in contempt of the preciſe orders of Alcibiades, who had been obliged to paſs into Ionia to levy contributions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. On the firſt intelligence of this check, he inſtantly returned, and offered

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z Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
a Plut. in Alcib. p. 206.
b Id. ibid. cap. 208.
c Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177.
d Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6. Plut. p. 209. Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
e Plut. ibid. p. 211.

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battle to the victor, who did not venture to accept it [f]. He had retrieved the honour of Athens; the loſs was trifling, but it ſufficed for the jealouſy of his enemies. They exaſperated the people, who ſtripped him of the general command of the armies with as much precipitation as they had manifeſted in inveſting him with that dignity.

The war was ſtill continued for ſome years, always by ſea, and terminated by the battle of Ægos-Potamos, gained by the Peloponneſians in the ſtraits of the Helleſpont. Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian who commanded them [g], ſurpriſed the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty ſail, and made himſelf maſter of it with three thouſand priſoners *.

Alcibiades, who ſince his retreat had ſettled in the adjacent county, warned the Athenian generals of the danger of their ſituation, and of the want of diſcipline among their ſoldiers and ſeamen: but they deſpiſed the counſels of a man fallen into diſgrace [h].

The loſs of the battle brought on that of Athens, which ſurrendered for want of proviſions, after a few months ſiege †. Several of the allied powers propoſed to deſtroy the city; but Lacedæmon, attentive to her glory rather than her intereſt, refuſed to impoſe chains on a nation which had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to Greece [i]: ſhe, however, condemned the Athenians not only to demoliſh the fortifications of the Piræus, as well as the long wall that joins the harbour to the city, but to deliver up all their galleys except twelve; to recal their exiles; to withdraw their garriſons from the cities they had taken; to form an offenſive and defenſive league with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them by ſea and land whenever they ſhould receive orders [k].

[f] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 442.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 2. p. 455 et 457. Plut. in Lyſandr. p. 440.

* The year 405 before Chriſt.

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 456. Plut. in Alcib. p. 212. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 8.

† Towards the end of April of the year 404 before Chriſt.

[i] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 460. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399. Andoc. de Pace, p. 26.

[k] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 226.

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The walls were thrown down to the sound of instruments, as if Greece had recovered her liberty[l]; and some months after, the victors permitted the people to elect thirty magistrates, who were to establish another form of government, and concluded by usurping the sovereign authority[m]*.

They first exerted their power to put to death a multitude of slanderous informers, odious to all honest men; next to destroy the enemies of their usurpation; and soon after to murder all those whose riches they wished to seize. Some Lacedæmonian troops granted them by Lysander, and three thousand citizens they had associated with them to support their authority, openly defended these acts of injustice[n]. The nation, disarmed, suddenly fell into a state of extreme servitude. Exile, imprisonment, and death were the lot of all who declared against the tyranny, or seemed to condemn it by their silence. It continued but eight months[o]; and in this short interval upwards of fifteen hundred citizens were cruelly massacred and deprived of funeral honours[p]. The greater part abandoned a city where neither the victims nor the witnesses of oppression dared to murmur a complaint: for the sufferer was required to be mute, and the compassionate to conceal his pity.

Socrates alone did not permit himself to be shaken by the iniquity of the times; he ventured to console the unfortunate, and resist the orders of the tyrants[q]. But it was not his virtue that alarmed them; they dreaded with more reason the genius of Alcibiades, on whose measures they kept a strict eye.

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l Id. ibid. Plut. in Lysandr. p. 441.

m Lys. in Eratosth. p. 192. Xen. ibid. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 236.

* Towards the summer of the year 404 before Christ.

n Lys. ibid. p. 227. Xenoph. ibid. p. 463.

o Corsin. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 264.

p Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 345. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 782. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 466.

q Xenoph. Memor. p. 716. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 237. Senec. de Tranquill. Anim. cap. 3.

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He was then in a small town of Phrygia, under the government of Pharnabazus, from whom he received every mark of distinction and friendship. Informed of the levies the younger Cyrus was making in Asia Minor, he concluded that this prince meditated an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and determined to repair to the court of the king of Persia, to apprise him of the danger, and to obtain succours for the deliverance of his country; but assassins sent by the satrap suddenly surrounded his house, and, wanting the courage to attack him, set fire to it. Alcibiades rushed forth sword in hand through the flames, repulsed the barbarians, and fell beneath a shower of darts [r]. He was then forty years of age. His death fixes a stain on Lacedæmon, if it be true that the magistrates, partaking of the fears of the Athenian tyrants, engaged Pharnabazus to perpetrate this atrocious murder. But others assert that it originated entirely with himself, and that he was only actuated by private motives [s].

The glory of saving Athens was reserved to Thrasybulus. That generous citizen, whose merit had placed him at the head of those who had fled from their country, and who had been deaf to all the proposals made him by the tyrants to partake of their power, gained possession of the Piræus, and summoned the people to liberty [t]. Some of the tyrants perished in arms; others were condemned to death. A general amnesty reconciled the two parties, and restored tranquillity to Athens [u].

Some years after that city shook off the yoke of Lacedæmon, re-established the democracy, and entered into the treaty of peace concluded by the Spartan Antalcidas with Artaxerxes *. By this treaty, which circumstances rendered necessary, the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and some of the neighbour-

[r] Plutarch. in Alcib. p. 212 et 213. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 10.
[s] Ephor. ap. Diod. lib. 13. p. 242.
[t] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. 2. p. 472.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 479.
* The year 387 before Christ.

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ing iſlands, were given up to Perſia; the other nations of Greece regained their laws and independence [x]; but remained in a ſtate of weakneſs, from which perhaps they never will recover. Thus were the differences terminated which had occaſioned the Median war, and that of Peloponneſus.

The hiſtorical eſſay I have here given concludes with the taking of Athens. In the relation of my travels, I ſhall inſert an account of the principal events that have occurred ſubſequent to that period, and to the time of my return into Scythia: I ſhall now proceed to hazard a few remarks on the age of Pericles.

At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenians muſt have been greatly ſurpriſed to find themſelves ſo different from their anceſtors. A few years had ſufficed to deſtroy the authority of all the laws, inſtitutions, maxims, and examples accumulated by preceding ages for the conſervation of manners. Never was there a more dreadful proof, that great ſucceſſes are as dangerous for the victors as the vanquiſhed.

I have already indicated the fatal effects produced on the Athenians by their conqueſts, and the flouriſhing ſtate of their navy and their commerce. We have ſeen them rapidly extending the dominions of the republic, and tranſporting into her boſom the ſpoils of the allied and ſubjugated nations: hence the ſucceſſive progreſs of a ruinous luxury, and the inſatiable thirſt for feſtivals and ſpectacles. As the government abandoned itſelf to the delirium of a pride that imagined every thing warrantable, becauſe there was nothing it dared not to attempt, individuals, from its example, ſhook off every ſpecies of conſtraint enjoined either by nature or ſociety.

Merit ſoon could only obtain eſteem; reſpect was reſerved for power and influence: all the paſſions were directed to-

[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 549. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 368. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 319.

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wards personal interest, and all the sources of corruption spread themselves with profusion over the state. Love, which heretofore had concealed itself under the veils of Hymen and of modesty, flamed openly with illegitimate fires. Courtesans multiplied in Attica, and throughout all Greece [y]. Some of these women came from Ionia, from that beautiful climate where the art of voluptuousness took birth. Some attached to their persons a multiplicity of admirers; all of whom they loved without a preference, and who all loved them without rivalry; others, confining themselves to a single conquest [z], by an appearance of propriety, succeeded in attracting respect and commendation from that easy public, which imputed to them as a merit this fidelity to their engagements.

Pericles, a witness to the abuse, did not attempt to correct it. The more severe he was in his own manners, the more attentive was he to corrupt those of the Athenians, which he relaxed by a rapid succession of festivals and games [a].

The celebrated Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Ionia, seconded the views of Pericles, whose mistress and spouse she was successively. She had obtained such an ascendency over him, that he was accused of having more than once engaged his country in war, to avenge her personal quarrels [b]. She had the boldness to form a society of courtesans, whose charms and favours were employed to attach the young Athenians [c] to her interests. A few years before, the whole city would have revolted at the idea of such a project; but now, when carried into execution, it only excited some feeble murmurs: the comic poets freely satirized Aspasia [d]; but this did not hinder her house from being frequented by the best company of Athens.

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[y] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569.
[z] Terent. in Heautontim. act. 2. scen. 3.
[a] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[b] Aristoph. in Acharn. act. 2. scen. 5 v. 527. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 et 168.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 165.
[d] Cratin. Eupol. ap. Plut. ibid.

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Pericles authorized this licentiousness; Aspasia extended it; and Alcibiades rendered it amiable: his life was an example of every species of dissolute manners; but his vices were all accompanied with so many splendid qualities, and so often mingled with noble actions, that public censure knew not on what to fasten[e]. Besides, how was it possible to resist the charm of a poison which the graces themselves seemed to distribute? or to condemn a man who possessed every requisite to please, or to seduce; who was the first to condemn himself; who repaired the slightest offences by such conciliating attentions, and who seemed less to commit faults than to fall into them through negligence? The public were, therefore, led to rank them among those amusements, or those errors, which disappear with the fire of youth[f]; and, as indulgence for vice is always a conspiracy against virtue, it happened, that, excepting a small number of citizens inflexibly attached to ancient maxims[g], the nation, hurried away by the graces of Alcibiades, became the accomplices of his excesses, and concluded by defending what they had begun by excusing.

The young Athenians fixed their eyes on this dangerous model; and, unable to imitate its beauties, thought to approach it by copying, and especially by overcharging its defects. They became frivolous, because he was giddy; insolent, because he was bold; regardless of the laws, because he paid no respect to propriety of manners. Some not so wealthy, but equally prodigal with himself, displayed a luxury that rendered them ridiculous[h], and drew down ruin on their families: the disorders they transmitted to their descendants, and the baneful influence of the example of Alcibiades subsisted long after his death.

A judicious historian observes[i], that war modifies the manners of a people, and sours them in proportion to their suf-

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[e] Plut. in Alcib p. 199.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 198.
[h] Aristoph. in Nub. scen. 1.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 82.

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ferings. That of Peloponnesus was so long, and the Athenians experienced so many reverses of fortune, as to occasion a remarkable alteration in their character. Their vengeance was not satisfied, unless it exceeded the offence. More than once they issued decrees which condemned to death the inhabitants of the islands who had forsaken their alliance [k]; their generals more than once inflicted dreadful tortures on the prisoners who fell into their hands [l]. They now, therefore, no longer remembered that ancient institution, by which the Greeks were accustomed to celebrate with songs of joy the victories gained over the barbarians; but to recount with tears and lamentations the advantages they had obtained over the other Greeks [m].

The author I have quoted further observes, that, in the course of this fatal war, such a general subversion of ideas and principles took place, that the words most in use entirely changed their meaning: good faith was called simplicity and credulity; duplicity, address; and prudence and moderation, feebleness and pusillanimity; while audacity and violence were considered as the sallies of a strong mind, and an ardent zeal in the common cause [n]. Such a confusion in language is perhaps one of the most dreadful symptoms of the depravity of a people. In other times, attacks are made on virtue; yet to assign limits to her is still to acknowledge her authority: but when a society proceeds to divest her even of her name, her claims are at an end; vice usurps the sceptre, and maintains herself undisturbed on the throne.

Those bloody wars in which the Greeks had been engaged, extinguished a great number of families accustomed, for many ages, to consider their own glory as inseparable from the glory of their country [o]. The foreigners and new men who supplied their places, made the balance of power sudden-

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[k] Id. ibid. cap. 36.
[l] Xen. Hist. Graec. lib. 2. p. 457. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166.
[m] Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 205.
[n] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 82.
[o] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 404.

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ly incline in favour of the people[p]. The following example will ſhow to what exceſs they now ventured to carry their inſolence. Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, a player on the lyre, formerly a ſlave, ſince become a citizen by his intrigues, and adored by the multitude for his liberality, was ſeen to come into the general aſſembly armed with an axe, and threaten with impunity to cleave the ſkull of the firſt man who ſhould give his vote for peace[q]. A few years after Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, and in a ſhort time again ſunk under the arms of the king of Macedon.

Such was the deſtiny of a ſtate founded upon manners. Philoſophers, who aſcend to the cauſes of great events, have ſaid that every age bears, in ſome manner, within itſelf the age that is to follow. This bold metaphor contains an important truth, confirmed by the hiſtory of Athens. The age of laws and virtue prepared that of valour and of glory; the latter produced that of conqueſts and of luxury, which terminated in the deſtruction of the republic.

At preſent let us turn our eyes from theſe afflicting ſcenes, and fix them on more agreeable and more intereſting objects. Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, Nature redoubled her efforts, and on a ſudden gave birth to a number of men of genius in every branch of knowledge. Of theſe Athens produced ſeveral, and ſaw a ſtill greater number reſort to her to court the honour of her approbation and eſteem.

Without mentioning a Gorgias, a Parmenides, a Protagoras, and many other eloquent ſophiſts, who, by deſſeminating their doubts, multiplied ideas, Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, ſhone on the ſtage, ſurrounded by rivals who ſhared in their glory. The aſtronomer Meton calculated the motions of the heavens, and fixed the limits of the year; the orators Antiphon, Andocides, and Lyſias, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the different ſpecies of eloquence; Thucydides, ex-

[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 389.

[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 407.

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cited to emulation by the applauſes beſtowed upon Herodotus, while he read his hiſtory to the Athenians, was labouring to merit a ſimiliar reward; Socrates tranſmitted a ſublime doctrine to his diſciples, ſeveral of whom have founded ſchools; able generals enſured victory to the arms of the republic; the moſt magnificent edifices were erected after the deſigns of the moſt able architects; the pencils of Polygnotus, Parrhaſius, and Zeuxis, and the chiſels of Phidias and Alcamenes, were exerted with emulation to decorate the temples, the porticos, and public places. All theſe great men, as alſo all thoſe who flouriſhed in other parts of Greece, were preparing to reexiſt in pupils worthy to ſucceed them; and it was eaſy to foreſee that the moſt corrupted would ſoon become the moſt enlightened of ages.

Thus, whilſt the reſpective ſtates of this country were menaced with loſing the empire both of the ſea and land, a peaceful claſs of citizens were labouring to ſecure to it for ever the empire of the mind: they erected in honour of their nation a temple, the foundations of which had been laid in the preceding century, and was to reſiſt the ravages of centuries to come. The ſciences every day acquired ſtrength by new diſcoveries, and the arts by their continued progreſs. Poetry did not increaſe her ſplendour; but retaining it, employed her powers to embelliſh tragedy and comedy, which were at once carried to their higheſt perfection. Hiſtory, ſubjected to the laws of true criticiſm, rejected the marvellous, diſcuſſed facts [f], and became an inſtructive leſſon, which paſt times tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages. In proportion as the edifice aroſe, barren waſtes were diſcovered at a diſtance, and others which waited only for more ſkilful cultivation. The rules of logic and of rhetoric, the abſtractions of metaphyſics, and the maxims of morality, were explained in works which to regularity of plan united preciſion of ideas and elegance of ſtyle.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20 et 21.

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Greece partly owed these advantages to the influence of philosophy, which arose out of obscurity after the victories gained over the Persians. Zeno appeared, and the Athenians exercised themselves in the subtleties of the Elean school. Anaxagoras brought them acquainted with the knowledge and discoveries of Thales; and some of them were persuaded that eclipses, monsters, and the diversified sports of nature, should no longer be enumerated in the list of prodigies; but this they were obliged to communicate in confidence [s]; for the people, accustomed to consider certain phænomena as warnings from heaven, proceeded against those philosophers who wished to reclaim them from this superstition. Persecuted and banished, they learned that the truth, to gain admission amongst men, must not present herself unveiled, but be clandestinely introduced in the retinue of error.

The arts, finding no popular prejudices to combat, met not with similar restraints. The temple of Jupiter, begun under Pisistratus; and that of Theseus, constructed under Cimon; furnished the architect with models: but the pictures and statues then subsisting presented the painter and the sculptor only with essays, which their genius must mature into perfection.

Some years before the Peloponnesian war, Panænus, the brother of Phidias, painted the battle of Marathon in one of the porticos of Athens; and the surprise of the spectators was extreme, when they perceived they could discover in these pictures the chiefs of the two armies [t]. He surpassed those who had preceded him, and almost at the very instant was surpassed by Polygnotus of Thasos, Apollodorus of Athens, Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Parrhasius of Ephesus. Polygnotus was the first who varied the expressions of the countenance, and deviated from the dry and servile manner of his

[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 154. Id. in Nic. p. 538.

[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 690. Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 402.

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predeceſſors [u]; he was likewiſe the firſt who embelliſhed his female figures, and clothed them with light and elegant drapery. His portraits bear the impreſſion of moral beauty, the idea of which was deeply engraven in his ſoul [x]. He ſhould not be cenſured for not ſufficiently diverſifying the tone of his colours [y]: it was the fault of the art, which, if we may uſe the expreſſion, was then but newly born.

Apollodorus, in this branch of his art, poſſeſſed the reſources in which Polygnotus was deficient: he produced a happy mixture of light and ſhade. Zeuxis immediately improved on this diſcovery; and Apollodorus, deſirous of authenticating his glory, exalted that of his rival. In a poem written by him, he ſays: "I had diſcovered, for the diſtribution of ſhades, ſecrets unknown until our days; they have been wreſted from me: the art is in the hands of Zeuxis [z]."

The latter ſtudied nature [a] with the ſame attention that he beſtowed on finiſhing his productions [b]; theſe are reſplendent with beauties. In his picture of Penelope he ſeems to have painted the manners and character of that princeſs [c]; but in general he has been leſs ſucceſsful in this particular than Polygnotus [d].

Zeuxis accelerated the progreſs of the art by the beauty of his colouring; Parrhaſius his rival, by the purity and correctneſs of deſign [e], for he was acquainted with the ſcience of proportions. Thoſe he gave his gods and heroes appeared ſo happy, that artiſts did not heſitate to adopt them, and decreed him the name of legiſlator [f]. He had other titles to their admiration. He ſhowed them, for the firſt time, ex-

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[u] Plin. ibid. c. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxv. p. 194 et 271.

[x] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 455. Id. de Poet. cap 2. t. ii. p. 653.

[y] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 743.

[z] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxv. p. 195.

[a] Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. 1. p. 75. Dionyſ. Halicar. Vet. Script. Cenſ. cap. 1. t. v. p. 417. Plin. ibid.

Iut. in Per. t. 1. p 139.

[c] Plin. ibid.

[d] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 657.

[e] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691.

[f] Quintil. ibid.

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preſſive airs of heads, mouths embelliſhed by the graces, and hair pourtrayed with delicacy [g].

To theſe two artiſts ſucceeded Timanthes, whoſe works, giving us to underſtand more than they expreſs, diſcover the great artiſt, and ſtill more the man of wit [h]; Pamphilus, who acquired ſuch a degree of authority by his merit, as to procure ſchools for drawing, from which ſlaves were excluded, to be eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of the Grecian cities [i]; Euphranor, who, ever equal to himſelf, excelled in all the branches of painting [k]. I have known ſome of theſe artiſts, and have ſince learned, that a pupil whom I have ſeen with Pamphilus, named Apelles, has ſurpaſſed them all.

The progreſs and improvement of ſculpture was not inferior to that of painting. To prove this, it is only neceſſary to repeat the names of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, Scopas, and Praxiteles. The firſt lived in the time of Pericles. I was acquainted with the latter. Thus, in leſs than the ſpace of a ſingle century, has this art attained ſuch a degree of excellence, that the ancient ſculptors would at this day be obliged to bluſh for their productions and their celebrity [l].

If to theſe different generations of talents we add thoſe which preceded them, aſcending from Pericles to the time of Thales, the moſt ancient of the Grecian philoſophers, we ſhall find that the human mind has acquired more in the interval of about two hundred years, than in the long ſucceſſion of preceding ages. What powerful hand was it that ſuddenly impreſſed on it, and ſtill preſerves, even to our days, a motion at once ſo rapid and ſo productive?

I imagine that from time to time, perhaps even in every generation, Nature ſcatters over the earth a certain portion of talents, which remain buried when nothing contributes to

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[g] Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad t. xix. p. 266; t. xxv. p. 163.
[h] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 694.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 703.
[l] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

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develope them, and awaken as from a profound ſleep when one amongſt them accidentally opens a new path to fame. Thoſe who ruſh into it firſt, divide among them, if I may ſo ſpeak, the provinces of this new empire: theſe their ſucceſſors have the merit of cultivating and giving law to. But there are limits to the diſcoveries of the mind, as there are to the enterpriſes of conquerors and navigators. The greateſt diſcoveries immortalize thoſe who have made, and thoſe who have improved them; till at length men of genius, no longer poſſeſſing the ſame reſources, ceaſe to meet with the ſame ſucceſs, and are almoſt reduced to a level with the claſs of ordinary men.

To this general cauſe ſeveral partial ones muſt be added. At the commencement of the great revolution of which I ſpeak, the philoſopher Pherecydes of Scyros, and the hiſtorians Cadmus and Hecatæus of Miletus, introduced into their writings the uſe of proſe [m], better calculated than poetry for the communication of ideas. Towards the ſame period Thales, Pythagoras, and other Greeks, brought from Egypt and the countries of the Eaſt, various kinds of ſcience, which they taught to their diſciples. Whilſt theſe were ſilently taking root in the ſchools inſtituted in Sicily, Italy, and on the coaſts of Aſia, every thing conſpired to the birth and rapid improvement of the arts.

Such as depend on the imagination, are more eſpecially deſtined among the Greeks to the embelliſhment of their feſtivals and temples; they are employed likewiſe to celebrate the heroic acts of nations, and the names of the victors in the ſolemn games of Greece. Diſpenſers of the glory they partake, the Greeks found, after the Perſian war, more occaſions than formerly to exerciſe theſe ſublime arts.

Greece, after enjoying for ſome time a proſperity that increaſed her power [n], fell into a ſtate of diſſenſion which

[m] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278.; lib. 7. p. 417. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. | Suid in Pherecyd.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 72.

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gave a ſurpriſing degree of activity to every mind. She beheld wars and victories, riches, and luxury, artiſts, and monuments, multiply at once within her boſom: the feſtivals became more ſplendid, public ſpectacles more common; the temples were covered with paintings, and the environs of Delphi and Olympia with ſtatues. On the ſmalleſt ſucceſs, piety, or rather national vanity, paid a tribute to induſtry, excited likewiſe by an inſtitution which turned to the advantage of the arts. Was a public ſquare or edifice to be decorated; ſeveral artiſts treated the ſame ſubject: they exhibited their performances or their plans, and the preference was given to him who united the greateſt number of public ſuffrages in his favour [o]. More ſolemn competitions were inſtituted in favour of painting and muſic, at Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and other places. The Grecian cities which had known only the rivalry of arms, now became acquainted with that of talents: the greater part of them aſſumed a new appearance, after the example of Athens, which ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence.

Pericles, wiſhing to give employment to a people [p] formidable to their chiefs in the inactivity of peace, reſolved to dedicate to the embelliſhment of the city, a great part of the contributions furniſhed by the allies to ſupport the Perſian war, and which had been hitherto kept in reſerve in the citadel. He repreſented that, by throwing this wealth into circulation, it would procure to the nation an abundance for the preſent moment, and immortal glory in futurity [q]. The ſhops of artiſts and the public places were inſtantly filled with an infinite number of labourers and mechanics, whoſe exertions were directed by intelligent maſters, after the deſigns of Phidias. Theſe works, which a great empire would ſcarcely have ventured to undertake, and which ſeemed to require a long ſpace of time for their execution, were completed by

[o] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 725.
[p] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 159.

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a little republic, in a very few years, under the adminiſtration of a ſingle man, without either ſuffering in their elegance or ſolidity by ſuch aſtoniſhing diligence. They coſt about three thouſand talents [r] *.

While theſe works were carrying on, Pericles was reproached by his enemies with diſſipating the money of the ſtate. "Are you of opinion," ſaid he one day to the general aſſembly, "that the expence is too great?" "Far too great," anſwered ſome perſon. "Well then," replied he, "I will take it entirely on myſelf, and inſcribe my name on theſe edifices." "No, no," exclaimed the people, "let them be erected at the expence of the treaſury; and ſpare nothing for their completion [s]."

A taſte for the arts began to introduce itſelf among a ſmall number of citizens; that for paintings and ſtatues among the rich. The dazzled multitude judge of the power of a ſtate by its magnificence; hence, that reſpect for artiſts who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a happy boldneſs. Some laboured gratuitouſly for the republic, and had honours decreed them [t]; others there were who enriched themſelves either by teaching pupils [u], or exacting a tribute from thoſe who came to their workſhops to admire their maſterly productions [x]. Several of them, elated with the general approbation, found a ſtill more flattering recompence in the conſciouſneſs of their ſuperiority, and in the homage they themſelves rendered to their abilities; nor did they bluſh to inſcribe on their pictures, "It will be eaſier to criticiſe than to imitate [y]." Zeuxis acquired ſuch great wealth, that towards the end of his life he made preſents of his paintings, aſſirming that nobody was rich enough to pay their value [z]. Parrhaſius had ſuch an exalted opinion

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

* See note VIII. at the end of the volume.

[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p 160.

[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 697. Suid. et Harpocr. in Polygn.

[u] Plin. ibid. p. 694.

[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 12.

[y] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.

[z] Plin. ibid.

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of himſelf as to lay claim to a divine origin [a]. To the intoxication of their pride was added that of the public admiration.

Though letters were cultivated more early, and with greater ſucceſs than the arts, it may be aſſerted that, excepting poetry, they received leſs encouragement from the Greeks. Eloquence and hiſtory were held in great eſtimation, becauſe the former was neceſſary to the diſcuſſion of their intereſts, and the latter to the gratification of their vanity; but the other branches of literature owe their improvement rather to the vigour of the ſoil, than to any protection of the government. In ſeveral cities we find ſchools for the athletæ maintained at the public expence; but no where any permament inſtitutions for the exerciſes of the mind. It is but lately that the ſtudy of arithmetic and geometry have conſtituted a part of education, and that the doctrines of natural philoſophy have ceaſed to be an object of averſion and alarm. Under Pericles, philoſophical reſearches were rigorouſly proſcribed by the Athenians [b]; and, whilſt ſoothſayers frequently received an honourable public maintenance in the prytaneum [c], the philoſophers ſcarcely ventured to confide their opinions to their moſt faithful diſciples; nor were they more favourably received among other nations. Every where the objects of hatred or contempt, they eſcaped from the fury of fanaticiſm only by holding truth in captivity, and from the virulence of envy by a voluntary or conſtrained poverty. Though more tolerated at preſent, they are ſtill ſo cloſely watched, that on the ſmalleſt offence philoſophy would experience a repetition of all the perſecution it has formerly ſuffered.

From theſe reflections we may conclude, firſt, that the Greeks have always honoured the talents ſubſervient to their pleaſures, more than thoſe which contribute to their inſtruc-

[a] Id. ibid. p. 694.
[b] Plut in Per. t. i. p. 169.
[c] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 338.

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tion; ſecondly, that natural have had more influence than moral cauſes in the progreſs of letters, and moral more than natural in that of the arts; and thirdly, that the Athenians are not juſtified in attributing to themſelves the origin, or at leaſt the perfection of the arts and ſciences [d]. Falſely do they flatter themſelves that they have opened and pointed out to other nations the glorious paths to immortality [e]; Nature does not ſeem to have diſtinguiſhed them from the other Greeks in the diſtribution of her favours. They have indeed invented the drama; they have produced celebrated orators, two or three hiſtorians, and a very ſmall number of painters, ſculptors, and able architects; but in almoſt all theſe branches the reſt of Greece may produce a multitude of illuſtrious names to diſpute their claim. I do not even know whether the climate of Attica be ſo favourable to the productions of genius as that of Ionia and Sicily.

Athens is not ſo much the birth-place as the reſidence of great talents. Her riches enable her to employ them, and her knowledge to appreciate their value: the magnificence of her feſtivals, the mildneſs of her laws, the number and complacent character of her inhabitants, would ſuffice to fix within her walls men eager to acquire fame, who muſt have a theatre, rivals, and judges.

Pericles attached ſuch men to him by the ſuperiority of his influence; Aſpaſia, by the charms of her converſation; and both, by a diſcerning eſteem. Aſpaſia can be compared only with herſelf. The Greeks were ſtill leſs aſtoniſhed at her beauty than her eloquence, and the profundity and elegance of her underſtanding. Socrates, Alcibiades, men of letters, the moſt celebrated artiſts, and the moſt amiable of the Athenians of either ſex, aſſembled around this extraordinary woman, who commanded the reſpect of all, and converſed in all their languages.

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[d] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 138.

[e] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. 6. cap. 13 p. 250.

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This ſociety was the model of thoſe which have been ſince formed. The love of letters, arts, and enjoyments, which connects all men, and confounds diſtinctions, rendered ſenſible the merit of a delicacy in language and manners. Such as had received from Nature the gift of pleaſing, exerted every endeavour to pleaſe; and this deſire embelliſhed talents with new graces. The tone of good company was ſoon diſtinguiſhable. This, as it is partly founded on arbitrary conventions, and ſuppoſes a degree of refinement and tranquillity of mind, was long in purifying, and could never find its way into all ranks of ſociety. In a word, that politeneſs which at firſt was only the expreſſion of eſteem, inſenſibly degenerated into diſſimulation; every one was careful to laviſh attentions upon others, that he might receive ſtill greater in return, and to flatter their ſelf-love, that they might not wound his own.

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TRAVELS

IN

G R E E C E.

CHAP. I.

*Departure from Scythia.—The Tauric Cherſoneſus *.—The Pontus Euxinus †.—State of Greece, from the taking of Athens, Anno A. C. 404, to the Departure of Anacharſis on his Travels.—The Thracian Boſphorus.—Arrival at Byzantium ‡.*

ANACHARSIS, a native of Scythia, the ſon of Toxaris, is the author of this work, which he addreſſes to his friends. He begins by ſtating to them the motives that induced him to travel.

You know that I am deſcended from the ſage Anacharſis, ſo celebrated among the Greeks, and ſo unworthily treated by the Scythians. The hiſtory of his life and death inſpired me, from my earlieſt childhood, with eſteem for the nation which had honoured, and with diſtaſte for that which knew not how to appreciate, his virtues.

This diſguſt was ſtill more increaſed by the arrival of a Greek ſlave, whom I purchaſed. He was of one of the prin-

* The Crimea.
† The Black Sea.
‡ Conſtantinople.

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cipal families of Thebes in Bœotia. About thirty-ſix years before *, he had followed the younger Cyrus in the expedition undertaken by that prince againſt his brother Artaxerxes, king of Perſia. Being taken priſoner in one of thoſe engagements to which the Greeks were compelled in their retreat, he frequently changed maſters, and wore the chains of ſervitude in different nations, till chance brought him to the country in which I lived.

The more I became acquainted with him, the more ſenſible was I of the aſcendancy of an enlightened over an uninſtructed people. Timagenes, for that was the Theban's name, at once delighted and humbled me by the charms of his converſation, and the ſuperiority of his knowledge: the hiſtory of the Greeks, their manners, government, ſciences, arts, feſtivals, and ſpectacles, were the inexhauſtible topics of our converſation. I interrogated him, and I liſtened to his replies with tranſport. I was then juſt entering my eighteenth year, and my imagination added the livelieſt colours to the richneſs of his deſcriptions. I had hitherto ſeen nothing but tents, flocks, and deſerts. From this time, incapable of enduring the wandering life I had till then led, and the profound ignorance to which I was condemned, I reſolved to abandon a climate where Nature ſcarcely provided for the neceſſities of man, and a nation whoſe only virtue ſeemed to me to conſiſt in its ignorance of vice [a].

I have paſſed the prime years of my life in Greece, in Egypt, and in Perſia; but my longeſt abode was in the former of theſe countries. I enjoyed the laſt moments of its glory; nor quitted it till I ſaw its liberty expire in the plain of Chæronea. While viſiting its provinces, I carefully noted down every thing that I believed to merit attention, and from this journal, on my return to Scythia, I drew up the narrative of my travels, which poſſibly would have been more accurate,

* The year 400 before J. C.

[a] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 2.

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had not the ſhip by which I ſent my books been loſt in the Euxine ſea.

And you, whom I was ſo fortunate as to know in my journey into Perſia, you, Arſames and Phedime, illuſtrious pair, how often have I been on the point of inſerting your names in my narrative! In how lively a manner did they recur to my remembrance, when I had to pourtray ſome ſupereminent quality of the heart or mind; or to ſpeak of benevolence and gratitude! You have claims upon this work. I partly compoſed it in that delightful reſidence of which you conſtitute the nobleſt ornament; I finiſhed it far from Perſia, yet, as I may ſay, always under your eyes; for the moments paſſed with you can never be obliterated from my memory. The recollection of theſe will conſtitute the happineſs of the remainder of my life, and I have no other wiſh, but that, after my death, theſe words ſhould be deeply engraven on the ſtone that covers my aſhes: "He obtained the friendſhip of Arſames and Phedime."

Towards the end of the firſt year of the 104th Olympiad *, I took my departure with Timagenes, to whom I had given his liberty. After traverſing vaſt ſolitudes, we arrived on the banks of the Tanais, near to the ſpot where it falls into a kind of ſea, known by the name of the Lake, or Palus Mæotis. There taking ſhipping, we proceeded to the city of Panticapæum, ſituated on an eminence [b], near the entrance of the ſtrait called the Cimmerian Boſphorus, which joins the Palus Mæotis to the Euxine ſea.

This city, where the Greeks formerly eſtabliſhed a colony [c], is become the capital of a ſmall empire, which extends along the eaſtern coaſt of the Cherſoneſus Taurica. Leucon had reigned there about thirty years [d]. He was a generous and magnificent prince [e], who more than once had de-

* In the month of April of the year 363 before J. C.

[b] Strab. lib. 7. p. 309.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 310. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 218.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 432.

[e] Chryſip. ap. Plut. de Stoicor. repugn. t. ii. p. 1043.

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feated conſpiracies, and gained victories, by his addreſs and courage [f]. We did not ſee him; for he was then at the head of his army. The inhabitants of Heraclea in Bithynia had ſome time before appeared with a powerful fleet, to make a deſcent on his dominions; Leucon, perceiving that his troops made but a feeble oppoſition to the enemy, placed a body of Scythians in the rear, with orders to attack them, if they had the cowardice to give way [g].

A ſaying of this king is related, which I cannot repeat without ſhuddering. His favourites, by falſe accuſations, had driven away ſeveral of his friends, and obtained poſſeſſion of their fortunes. He at length diſcovered their villany, and one of them having laid a new information of the ſame kind, "Wretch," ſaid he to him, "I would put thee "to death, were not ſuch raſcals as thou art neceſſary to "deſpots [h]."

The Tauric Cherſoneſus produces corn in abundance, and the earth, barely grazed by the ploughſhare, yields the huſbandman an increaſe of thirty for one [i]. The commerce carried on there by the Greeks was ſo great, that the king was obliged to open a port capable of containing an hundred veſſels [k], at Theodoſia *, another city of the Boſphorus. The Athenian merchants reſorted in crowds either to this place, or to Panticapæum. They were ſubject to no duties either in imports or exports; in gratitude for which the republic enrolled this prince and his children in the number of her citizens [l] †.

We found a Leſbian veſſel almoſt ready to ſail, and Cleomedes the commander agreed to take us on board. Whilſt we were waiting for her departure, I was inceſſantly in motion, and could never ſatisfy myſelf with viewing the citadel,

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f Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 9.
g Id. ibid.
h Athen. lib. 6. cap. 16. p. 257.
i Strab. lib. 7. p. 311.
k Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 546. Strab. lib. 7. p. 309.
* Now called Caffa.
l Demoſth. ibid. p. 545.
† See note at the end of the volume.

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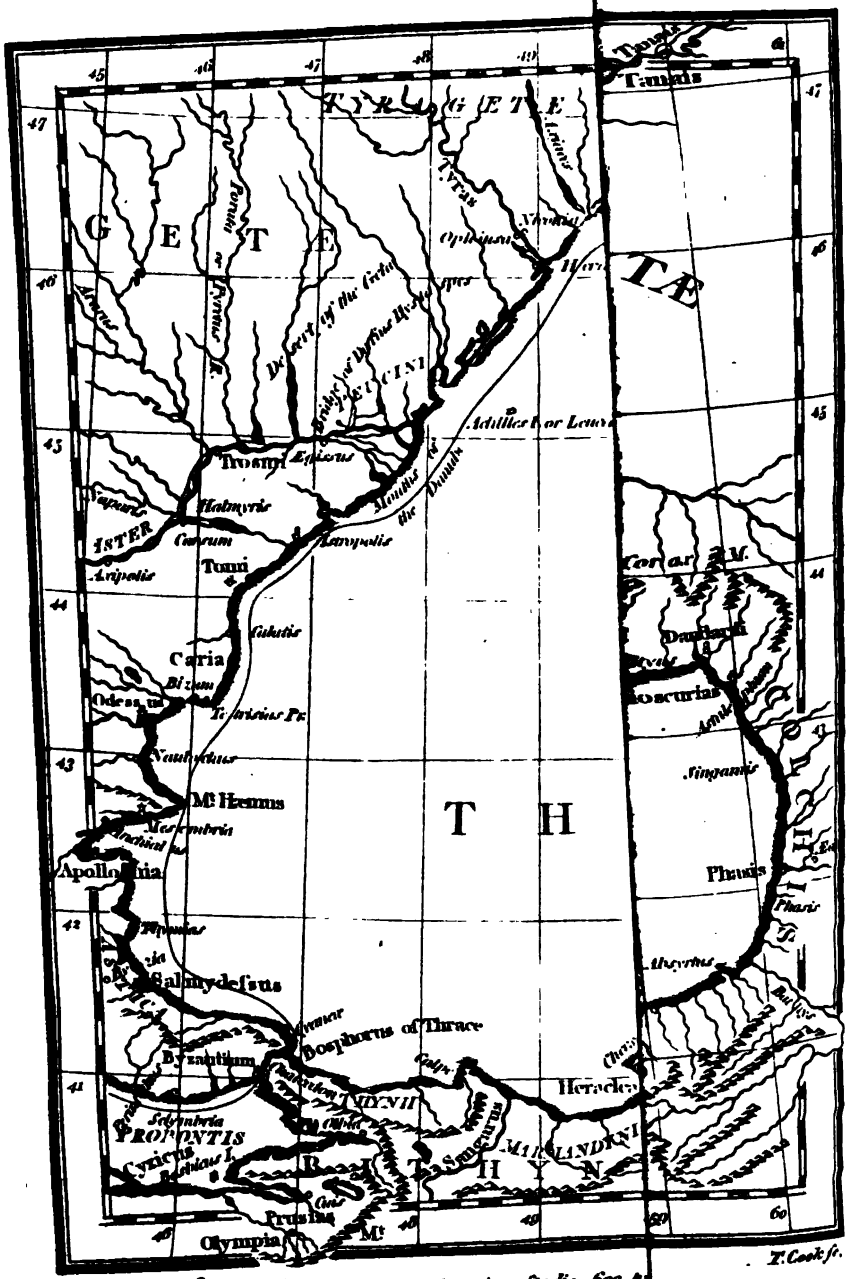

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the arſenal, the harbour, the veſſels, their rigging, and manner of working; I entered at random into private houſes, manufactories, and the moſt inconſiderable ſhops; I went out of the town, and my eyes were fixed on orchards, covered with fruit, and fields laden with rich harveſts. My ſenſations were lively, and my narratives full of animation. I could not complain of wanting witneſſes to my delight; I ſpoke of my pleaſure and admiration to every perſon I ſaw: I ran to Timagenes, to communicate to him every thing that ſtruck me, as if it were as novel to him as to myſelf; I aſked him whether the lake Mæotis was not the largeſt ſea, and Panticapæum the handſomeſt city, in the world.

In the courſe of my travels, and eſpecially at my ſetting out, I experienced ſimilar emotions, as often as nature or induſtry preſented to me new objects; and when they were ſuch as to elevate the ſoul, my admiration could be relieved only by tears, which it was impoſſible to withhold, or by tranſports of joy that Timagenes was unable to moderate. At length, as my ſurpriſe has diminiſhed, the delights ariſing from that ſource have vaniſhed; and I have found with pain, that we loſe in pleaſurable ſenſation what we gain in experience.

I ſhall not deſcribe the feelings with which I was agitated, when, on quitting the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the ſea called the Euxine gradually expanded itſelf to my ſight *. It is an immenſe baſon, almoſt every where ſurrounded by mountains more or leſs diſtant from the ſhore, and into which near forty rivers pour their waters, from part of Aſia and Europe [m].

Its length is ſaid [n] to be eleven thouſand and one hundred ſtadia †, its greateſt breadth three thouſand three hundred ‡. Its borders are inhabited by various nations, who differ from each other in their origin, manners, and language [o]. At in-

* See the map of the Pontus Euxinus.

[m] Strab. lib. 7. p. 298.

[n] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.

† About 419¼ leagues.

‡ About 124¼ leagues.

[o] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8.

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tervals, and chiefly on the ſouthern coaſts, we meet with Grecian cities, founded by the inhabitants of Miletus, Megara, and Athens, built for the moſt part in fertile ſituations, and well calculated for commerce. To the eaſt is Colchis, celebrated for the Argonautic expedition, ſo embelliſhed by fable, and which rendered the Greeks better acquainted with theſe remote countries.

The rivers that fall into the Euxine cover it with flakes of ice in ſevere winters [p], mitigate the ſaltneſs of its waters, and convey into it an enormous quantity of mud and vegetable ſubſtances, which attract and fatten the fiſh [q]. Tunny, turbots, and almoſt every ſpecies, reſort thither to depoſit their ſpawn, and multiply the more, as this ſea nouriſhes no voracious or deſtructive fiſh [r]. The Euxine is frequently enveloped in dark fogs, and agitated by violent tempeſts [s], and that ſeaſon is generally made choice of for its navigation when ſhipwrecks are leaſt frequent [t]. It is not deep [u], except towards the eaſtern part, where Nature has formed gulfs, the bottom of which no ſounding line has yet been able to reach [x].

Whilſt Cleomedes was informing us of theſe particulars, he had ſketched on his tablets the circuit of the Euxine. When he had finiſhed, You have, ſaid I, traced out, without perceiving it, the figure of the bow that we make uſe of in Scythia—It is preciſely of that ſhape [y].—But I ſee no outlet to this ſea. It communicates with the others, replied he, only by a longer and narrower channel than that we have juſt left.

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[p] Herodot. ap. Macrob. lib. 7. cap. 12. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 640.

[q] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 913. Voyag. de Chard. t. i. p. 107.

[r] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 17. t. i. p. 874. Strab. lib. 7 p. 320. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 15. t. i. p. 507. Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 318.

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 639 Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 92.

[t] Voyag. de Tournefort, t. ii. let. 16

[u] Strab. lib. 1. p. 50.

[x] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. i. p. 545. et 546.

[y] Strab. lib. 2. p. 125. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 157. Schol. ibid.

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Instead of steering directly for this strait, Cleomedes, fearful of quitting the coast, directed his course to the westward, inclining afterwards to the south. As we sailed along the shore, our conversation turned on the nations that dwell on it; and we sometimes saw the flocks approach the sea, which affords them a drink equally agreeable and salutary [z]. We were told, that in winter, when the sea is frozen [a], the fishermen of these districts pitch their tents on its surface, and throw their lines through holes made in the ice [b]. At a distance we were shown the mouth of the Borysthenes *, that of the Ister †, and other rivers. We frequently passed the night on land, and sometimes at anchor [c].

One day, Cleomedes telling us that he had formerly read the history of the expedition of the younger Cyrus: Greece then is attentive to our misfortunes, said Timagenes; that circumstance renders them at least less bitter for those whose fate it is to have survived them. And by what hand is the picture drawn? It is, answered Cleomedes, by one of the generals who led back the Greeks into their country; Xenophon of Athens.—Alas! replied Timagenes, this is the first news I have heard of him since about thirty-seven years that fate has separated me from him. Ah! how happy should I have been once more to have seen him after so long an absence! But I greatly fear that death——Take courage, said Cleomedes, he is still living—Blessed be the gods, replied Timagenes! He lives! He will receive with pleasure the embraces of a soldier; of a friend, whose life he more than once has saved. The Athenians, no doubt, have loaded him with honours.—They have banished him, replied Cleomedes, for appearing too much attached to the Lacedæmonians [d]!—But in his retirement, at least, he attracts the attention of all

[z] Arrian. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 8.
[a] Voy. de Tournef. t. ii. p. 130.
[b] Arist. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. i. p. 543.

* Now the Dnieper.
† The Danube.
[c] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1087
[d] Diog. Laert. in Xenop. lib. 2. § 51.

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Greece?—No; every eye is fixed on Epaminondas of Thebes! Epaminondas! What is his age? What is the name of his father?—He is about fifty, the ſon of Polymnis, and brother of Caphiſias [e].—It is he, cried Timagenes with emotion; it is he himſelf. I have known him from his childhood. His features are ſtill before my eyes: we were early united by the ties of blood. I was but a few years older than he; he was educated in the love of poverty, and the love of virtue. Never did youth make a more rapid progreſs in every exerciſe of body and mind. His maſters were unable to ſatisfy his inſatiable thirſt for knowledge. I well remember that we could never force him from the company of a gloomy and rigid Pythagorean, named Lyſis [f]. Epaminondas was but in his twelfth or thirteenth year when I joined the army of Cyrus; yet the preſages of a great character were frequently to be obſerved. It was not difficult to foreſee the aſcendancy he would one day acquire over other men [g]. Pardon my importunity. How has he fulfilled theſe brilliant expectations?—He has raiſed his nation, by his exploits, to the rank of the firſt ſtate in Greece, anſwered Cleomedes.—O Thebes! exclaimed Timagenes; O my country! the happy abode of my infancy! Still happier Epaminondas!——An involuntary oppreſſion hindered him from proceeding. In my turn, I cried out, Oh! how worthy is that man of being beloved, who has ſuch ſenſibility! and, throwing myſelf on his neck, My dear Timagenes, ſaid I, ſince you intereſt yourſelf ſo much in the fortune of the ſpot where you accidentally were born, what muſt be your ſentiments for the friends whom you yourſelf have choſen! He anſwered, preſſing my hand, I have often told you of that unalterable love the Greeks always retain for their country. It was with difficulty you could conceive it. Judge by my tears, whether it be profound and ſincere. And he actually ſhed tears.

[e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 576. 579. Nep. in Epam. cap. 1.

[f] Nep ibid. cap. 2. Plut. ibid. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[g] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

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After a few moments silence, he inquired by what means a revolution so glorious for the Thebans had been effected. You cannot expect from me, said Cleomedes, a circumstantial detail of all that has passed since your departure. I shall confine myself to the principal events, which will suffice to inform you of the present state of Greece.

You cannot be ignorant, that, by the taking of Athens *, all our republics fell, in some measure, under subjection to the Lacedæmonians; that some were compelled to solicit, and others to accept their alliance. The shining qualities and illustrious exploits of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, seemed to threaten them with a long slavery. This great man having been called into Asia, to the aid of the Ionians, who, from their having taken part with the younger Cyrus, had reason to apprehend the utmost vengeance of Artaxerxes, several times defeated the generals of that prince; and his views enlarging with his successes, he had already conceived the project of carrying his arms into Persia, and attacking the great king even on his throne [h].

Artaxerxes diverted the storm, and, by sums of money distributed in several of the Grecian cities, detached them from the Lacedæmonians [i]. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other states, formed a powerful league, and assembling their combined forces in the fields of Coronea, in Bœotia †, they soon came to action with the troops of Agesilaus, compelled by an order from Lacedæmon to interrupt the course of his conquests. Xenophon, who fought near the person of this prince, affirms that he never saw a more bloody battle [k]. The Lacedæmonians had the honour of the victory; and the Thebans that of effecting their retreat without being forced to a shameful flight [l].

* The year 404 before J. C.

[h] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 603. Nep. in Ages. cap 4.

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 513. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 604. Id. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p 211.

† The year 393 before J. C.

[k] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 625. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 659.

[l] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 519. Plut. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 322.

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This victory, by eſtabliſhing the power of Sparta, gave birth to new diſſenſions and new confederacies. Even among the victors, ſome were weary of their ſucceſs, others of the glory of Ageſilaus. The latter, headed by the Spartan Antalcidas, propoſed to king Artaxerxes to give peace to the Grecian nations. Their deputies aſſembled; and Teribazus, the ſatrap of Ionia, declared to them the will of his maſter, in the following terms *:

"King Artaxerxes thinks it juſt, 1ſt, That the Greek cities of Aſia, as well as the iſles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, ſhould remain united to his empire; 2dly, That the other Greek cities ſhould be free, except the iſles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which ſhall appertain to the Athenians. He will join his forces to thoſe of the ſtates which ſhall accept theſe conditions, and employ them againſt thoſe which ſhall refuſe to receive them [m]."

The final concluſion of a treaty, which entirely changed the political ſyſtem of Greece, was intruſted to the Lacedæmonians, who had originally conceived the idea, and regulated the articles; by the firſt of which they again brought under the yoke of the Perſians the Aſiatic Greeks, the preſervation of whoſe liberty had occaſioned the loſs of ſo much blood for near a century; and, by the ſecond, which obliged the Thebans to acknowledge the independence of the cities of Bœotia, they enfeebled perhaps the only power in a condition to oppoſe their projects [n]. Neither the Thebans nor Argives, therefore, would accede to the treaty, till they were conſtrained to it by force; the other republics received it without oppoſition, and ſome even with joy.

A few years after †, the Spartan Phœbidas paſſing with a body of troops into Bœotia, encamped in the vicinity of

* The year 387 before J. C.

[m] Xenop. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 550. lib. 6. p. 602. Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 369. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213

[n] Xenoph. ibid. p. 551. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1.

† The year 382 before J. C.

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Thebes [o]. The city was divided into two factions, each headed by one of the chief magiſtrates. Leontiades, the leader of the party devoted to the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded Phœbidas to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, and aſſiſted him in the enterpriſe. This was in the time of profound peace, and at the inſtant when the Thebans, devoid of fear or ſuſpicion, were celebrating the feſtival of Ceres [p]. So ſtrange an act of perfidy became ſtill more odious from the cruelties exerciſed on the citizens who were attached to the true intereſts of their country. Four hundred of theſe ſought an aſylum with the Athenians. Iſmenias, the chief of that party, had, under frivolous pretexts, been loaded with chains, and put to death.

This excited a general clamour throughout Greece. The Lacedæmonians ſhuddered with indignation, and demanded with fury whether Phœbidas had received orders to perpetrate ſuch an atrocious action [q]. Ageſilaus replied, that a general may be allowed to exceed his powers, when the welfare of the ſtate requires, and that the proceedings of Phœbidas ſhould be judged only according to this principle. Leontiades, who was then at Lacedæmon, appeaſed the minds of the citizens, by exaſperating them againſt the Thebans. It was determined to retain poſſeſſion of the citadel of Thebes, and that Phœbidas ſhould be condemned to pay a fine of an hundred thouſand drachms [r].

Thus, ſaid Timagenes, interrupting Cleomedes, Lacedæmon profited by the crime, and puniſhed the criminal [s]. But what now was the conduct of Ageſilaus? He was accuſed, replied Cleomedes, of being the ſecret author of the enterpriſe, and of the decree that completed its iniquity [t]. You had inſpired me with ſome eſteem for this prince, ſaid Ti-

[o] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. t. i. p. 556. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 1.

[p] Xenoph. ibid. p. 557. Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280.

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 557. & 558. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608.

[r] Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280. Nep. in Pelopid. cap. 1.

[s] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4. p. 296.

[t] Plut. in Ageſ. p. 609.

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magenes; but after so infamous an action——Hold, answered Cleomedes, know that the virtuous Xenophon has never ceased to admire, esteem, and love Agesilaus [u]. I have myself made several campaigns under that prince. I do not speak of his military talents. You will see his trophies erected in several of the provinces of Greece and Asia [x]: but thus much I can assure you, that he was adored by the soldiers [y], with whom he shared every difficulty and danger; that, in his Asiatic expedition, he astonished the barbarians by the simplicity of his demeanour, and the elevation of his sentiments; that he astonished us at all times by new proofs of disinterestedness, frugality, moderation, and benignity; that without thinking of his own greatness, without fearing lest another should forget it, he was of easy access, and possessed an engaging familiarity, untainted with rancour or jealousy [z], and was ever ready to listen to our complaints. In a word, his manners were as austere as those of the most rigid Spartan; nor was the most amiable Athenian ever endowed with a more cultivated and elegant understanding [a]. I shall add but one stroke to this eulogium. In those splendid conquests which he made in Asia, it was always his first care to render more supportable the hard fate of the prisoners, and to restore liberty to the slaves [b].

Alas! what avail all these good qualities, replied Timagenes, if he has tarnished them by giving his sanction to the injustice exercised against the Thebans?—Yet he considered justice, said Cleomedes, as the first of virtues [c]. I acknowledge that he did sometimes violate it, and without attempting to apologize for such violation, shall observe, that it was only to favour his friends, and never to distress his enemies [d]. He changed his conduct respecting the Thebans, either from a

[u] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. Id. in. Agesf.
[x] Isocr. Archid. t. ii. p. 38.
[y] Xenoph. in Agesf. p. 667.
[z] Plut. in Agesf. t. i. p. 599.
[a] Xenoph. in Agesf. p. 619. Plut. in Agesf. p 596.
[b] Xenoph. ibid. p. 654.
[c] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 213.
[d] Plut. in Agesf. t. i. p. 598. Id. Lacon. Apophth. p. 209.

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persuasion that all means were lawful to humble a power which was the rival of Sparta, or that he thought proper to avail himself of the opportunity to revenge his personal injuries. He had brought all his passions under subjection except one, which mastered him; and, fortified by the suppression of the others, was become tyrannical, unjust, and incapable of pardoning an offence. This was an inordinate love of glory, a sentiment the Thebans had more than once wounded in his person [e], especially by disconcerting his project of dethroning the king of Persia.

The decree of the Lacedæmonians was the æra of their decline. The greater part of the allies abandoned them; and three or four years after [*], the Thebans shook of an odious yoke [f]. Some intrepid citizens, in one night, in a single moment, destroyed the partizans of tyranny; and their first efforts being seconded by the people, the Spartans evacuated the citadel. Young Pelopidas, one of the exiles, was among the principal leaders of this conspiracy [g]. Distinguished as he was by birth and wealth, he shortly became conspicuous by actions, the splendour of which reflected honour on his country.

All conciliatory means were henceforward impracticable to the two nations. The hatred of the Thebans was extremely augmented from having received a severe injury, and that of the Lacedæmonians from having been the aggressors. Though the latter were engaged in several wars, they made some irruptions into Bœotia. Agesilaus twice conducted thither [h] those soldiers who had ever been accustomed to conquer under his command. That general being wounded in an indecisive action; the Spartan Antalcidas, pointing to the blood streaming from his wound, said to him, "Behold the fruit of

[e] Xenoph. lib. 7. p. 621. Plut. in Ages. p. 599.

[*] The year 379 or 378 before J. C.

[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 566.

[g] Plut. in Pelop. p. 281. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 2.

[h] Xenoph. Hist. l. 5. p. 572. et 575. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. ad ann. 378.

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"the lessons you have given the Thebans[i]." And indeed the latter, after at first suffering their fields to be laid waste, tried their strength in skirmishes, which soon became frequent. Pelopidas led them daily against the enemy; and, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his character, checked them in their successes, encouraged them in their defeats, and gradually taught them to brave those Spartans, whose reputation they formerly had dreaded more than their valour.

As for himself, instructed by his own errors and the examples of Agesilaus, he adopted the experience of the ablest general of Greece, and in a succeeding campaign gathered the fruit of his labours and reflections.

He was in Bœotia[k], and marching towards Thebes *, when he fell in with a body of Lacedæmonians, much more numerous than the forces he had under his command, returning by the same road. A Theban horseman, who had advanced before the army, and discovered them coming out of a defile, hastened back to Pelopidas: "We have fallen" exclaimed he, "into the hands of the enemy."—"And why should you "not say the enemy have fallen into ours?" replied the general. Until this time, no nation had ventured to attack the Lacedæmonians with equal, still less with inferior forces. The conflict was bloody, and victory hung long in suspense. The Lacedæmonians, having lost their two generals, and the flower of their warriors, opened, without breaking their ranks, to let the enemy pass; but Pelopidas, wishing to remain master of the field of battle, charged them a second time, and at length enjoyed the pleasure of completely defeating and dispersing them.

This unexpected success astonished Lacedæmon, Athens, and all the Grecian republics, who, fatigued with the miseries of war, resolved to come to an amicable termination of their differences. The general assembly was convoked at

i Plut. in Pelopid. p. 285.
k Id. ibid.

* The year 375 before J. C.

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Lacedæmon [l], where Epaminondas appeared, with the other deputies of Thebes.

He was then in his fortieth year. He had hitherto, according to the advice of the ſages, led a retired and concealed life [m]; nay, he had done ſtill better, by enabling himſelf to render it of utility to others. On coming out of his minority, he took on himſelf the completion of his education. Notwithſtanding the mediocrity of his fortune, he procured Lyſis the philoſopher to live with him [n], and deeply imbibed the ſublime ideas of virtue taught by the Pythagoreans; and that virtue which ſhone in his minuteſt actions, rendered him inaccessible to every ſpecies of fear. At the ſame time that he was fortifying his health by running, wreſtling [o], and ſtill more by temperance, he ſtudied mankind, conſulted the moſt enlightened ſages [p], and meditated on the reſpective duties of the general and magiſtrate. In his public harangues, he did not diſdain the ornaments of art [q]; but the eloquence of great ſouls was always their predominant embeliſhment. His talents, which have placed him in the foremoſt rank of orators, ſhone forth for the firſt time at the conference of Lacedæmon, the operations of which were guided by Ageſilaus.

The rights and intereſts of the different republics were there diſcuſſed by their reſpective deputies. I accidentally obtained a ſight of the harangues of the three ambaſſadors from Athens. The firſt was one of the prieſts of Ceres, elated with his birth, and proud of the encomiums he received or beſtowed upon himſelf [r]. He enumerated the important commiſſions the Athenians had intruſted to his family; talked of the benefits the ſtates of Peloponneſus had received from the deities whoſe miniſter he was, and concluded by obſerving, that war could

[l] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 590.
[m] Plut. de Occult. Vivend. t. ii. p. 1129.
[n] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356. Id. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 246. Cicer. de Off. lib. 1. cap. 44. t. iii. p. 223.
[o] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.
[p] Id. cap. 3.
[q] Id. cap. 5.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. lib. 6. p. 590.

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not begin too late nor terminate too speedily. Callistratus, a celebrated orator, instead of defending the general interest of Greece, had the indiscretion to insinuate, in presence of all the allies, that the partial union of Athens and Lacedæmon would secure to those two powers the sovereignty both of the sea and land. Autocles, the third deputy, boldly expatiated on the repeated injustice of the Lacedæmonians, who were perpetually summoning the nations to receive liberty, while they in reality held them in bondage, under the idle pretext of being guarantees to the treaty of Antalcidas.

I have already said that, by this treaty, all the Grecian cities should be free: but the Lacedæmonians, whilst they kept the cities of Laconia in dependence, haughtily required that those of Bœotia should no longer be subject to the Thebans [s]. As they were launching out into bitter complaints against the latter, and no longer expressing themselves with their customary precision, Epaminondas, wearied with their prolix invectives, said to them one day: "You will at least "allow that we have made you lengthen your monosyllables [t]." The discourse he then pronounced, made so powerful an impression on the deputies, as to alarm Agesilaus. The Theban forcibly insisted on the necessity of a treaty founded on justice and on reason: "And does it appear to you just and reasonable," said Agesilaus, "to grant independence to the cities of Bœo-"tia?"—"And do you," replied Epaminondas, "think it "reasonable and just to acknowledge the independence of "those of Laconia?"—"explain yourself roundly," said Agesilaus inflamed with passion; "I ask you whether the "cities of Bœotia shall be free?"—"And I," answered Epaminondas sternly, "demand of you, whether those of Laconia "shall be so?"—On these words, Agesilaus effaced the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the assembly separated [u].

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[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 366.
[t] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 545.
Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 193.
[u] Id. in Ages. t. i. p 611.

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Such, it is pretended, was the iſſue of this famous conference. Some indeed relate it differently, and more to the advantage of Ageſilaus [x]. Be that as it may, the principal articles of the decree of the aſſembly expreſſed that the troops ſhould be diſbanded, all the ſtates enjoy their liberties, and that each of the confederate powers ſhould be permitted to ſuccour the oppreſſed cities [y].

There was yet time for negotiation, but the Lacedæmonians, hurried on to their ruin by a ſpirit of infatuation *, gave orders to their king Cleombrotus, who commanded the allied army in Phocis, to march into Bœotia. This army conſiſted of ten thouſand foot ſoldiers, and one thouſand horſe [a]. The Thebans could only oppoſe to theſe forces ſix thouſand infantry [b], and a ſmall body of cavalry; but Epaminondas was at their head, and had under him Pelopidas.

It was aſſerted that ſiniſter omens had been obſerved; he anſwered, that the beſt of preſages was to defend our country [c]. Favourable oracles were likewiſe reported; and on theſe he appeared to rely with ſuch confidence as to be ſuſpected of being their author [d]. His troops had deeply imbibed his own ſpirit. The cavalry of the enemy, picked up as it were by chance, had neither experience nor emulation [e]. The allied cities had conſented to this expedition with the greateſt reluctance, and it was with regret the ſoldiers began their march. The king of Lacedæmon was no ſtranger to this diſcouragement; but he had enemies, and riſked every thing rather than furniſh their hatred with new pretexts [f].

The two armies met near a ſmall town in Bœotia called Leuctra. On the evening before the battle, whilſt Epaminondas was making his diſpoſitions, and anxious about an

[x] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 593.
[y] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 355.
[z] Xenoph. ibid. p. 594.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 288.
[b] Diod. ibid. p. 367.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Xenoph. ibid. p. 595. Diod. ibid. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 8.
[e] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 596.
[f] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 24. t. iii. p. 201.

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event which was to decide the fate of his country, he learnt that an officer of diſtinction had juſt expired quietly in his tent: "Ye Gods!" cried he, "how is it poſſible to find time to die in ſuch a ſituation [g]!"

The next day * was fought that battle, rendered for ever memorable by the great abilities diſplayed by the Theban general. Cleombrotus was poſted on the right of his army with the Lacedæmonian phalanx [h], protected by his cavalry which formed the front line. Epaminondas, certain of the victory if he could break this formidable wing, reſolved to refuſe his right to the enemy, and to attack with his left. He filed off thither his beſt troops, drew them up fifty deep, and placed his cavalry likewiſe in the front. Cleombrotus obſerving this, changed his firſt diſpoſition; but inſtead of giving his wing more depth, he extended it to outflank Epaminondas. During this movement, the Theban cavalry poured on that of the Lacedæmonians, and drove them back on their phalanx, which was only twelve deep. Pelopidas, who commanded the ſacred battalion †, took it in flank, and Epaminondas fell upon it with all the weight of his column. The phalanx ſuſtained the ſhock with a courage worthy of a better cauſe, and a happier ſucceſs. Prodigies of valour could not ſave Cleombrotus. The warriors around him ſacrificed their lives either in defence of his, or to reſcue his body, which the Thebans had not the honour to carry off the field.

After his death, the Peloponneſian army retired to their camp, ſituated on an adjoining eminence. Some Lacedæmonians propoſed to renew the battle [i]; but their generals, terrified at the loſs that Sparta had juſt ſuſtained, and not knowing how to confide in allies who were more pleaſed than

[g] Plut. de San. Tuend. t. ii. p. 136.

* The 8th of July of the Julian proleptic year, 371 before J. C.

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Diod. lib. 15. p. 370. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 289. Arrian. Tactic. p. 32. Folard. Trait. de la Colon. cap. 10. in the firſt volume of the Tranſlation of Polybius, p. 57.

† This was a band of three hundred young Thebans, renowned for their valour.

[i] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 597.

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afflicted at her humiliation, suffered the Thebans peaceably to raise a trophy on the field of battle. The loss of the latter was inconsiderable; that of the enemy amounted to four thousand men, among whom were a thousand Lacedæmonians. Of seven hundred Spartans, four hundred lost their lives [k].

The first intelligence of this victory excited in Athens only an indecent jealousy of the Thebans. At Sparta it awakened those extraordinary sentiments which the laws of Lycurgus imprint in every heart. The people were attending at solemn games, where men of all ages disputed the prize of wrestling, and other gymnastic exercises. On the arrival of the messenger, the magistrates foresaw that the fate of Lacedæmon was decided; and, without interrupting the exhibition, sent to inform each family of the loss they had sustained, exhorting mothers and wives to support their grief in silence. The next day, the relations of the slain were seen, with joy painted on their countenances, thronging to the temples and the forum, to thank the gods, and mutually to congratulate each other, on having given such brave citizens to the state. The others dared not to expose themselves to the public eye, or appeared only with the emblems of sorrow and of mourning. The painful sensation of shame, and the love of their country, were so prevalent among the greater number, that husbands could not bear to be looked on by their wives, and mothers trembled for the return of their sons [m].

The Thebans were so elated with this success, that the philosopher Antisthenes said: "Methinks I see a number of "scholars proud of having beaten their master [n]!" On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to confess their defeat, required that the matter in dispute should be referred by both nations to the Acheans [o].

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[k] Id. ibid. Diod. lib. 15. p. 371.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 598.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Agesil. t. i. p. 612.
[n] Plut in Lyc. t. i. p. 59.
[o] Polyb. Hist. lib. 2. p. 127.

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Two years after [p], Epaminondas and Pelopidas were named Bœotarchs, or chiefs of the Bœotian league *. The concurrence of circumstances, mutual esteem, friendship, and a uniformity of views and sentiments, formed an indissoluble union between these two great men. The one undoubtedly possessed more virtues and talents, but the other almost raised himself to a level with him by acknowledging his superiority. With this faithful companion of his labours and his glory, Epaminondas entered Peloponnesus, spreading terror and desolation through the states in alliance with Lacedæmon [q], hastening the defection of others, and breaking the yoke under which the Messenians had groaned for centuries. Seventy thousand men, of different nations, marched under his orders with an equal confidence [r]. He led them to Lacedæmon, resolved to attack her inhabitants even at their very doors, and to erect a trophy in the middle of the city.

Sparta has neither walls nor citadel [s], but Agesilaus took care to line with troops several rising grounds within its precincts, and placed his army on the declivity of the highest of these eminences. From hence was it that he discovered Epaminondas approaching at the head of his army, and making his dispositions to pass the Eurotas, swelled by the melting of the snow. After long following him with his eyes, he only suffered these words to escape him: "What a man! What a "prodigy [t]!"

Meanwhile this prince was agitated by the most cruel anxiety. Without, was a formidable army; within, a small body of soldiers, who no longer believed themselves invincible, and a great number of factious citizens who took every kind of licence. To these were added the murmurs and

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[p] Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 279.

* The year 369 before J. C.

[q] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 607. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 8.

[r] Plut. in Pelop. p. 290.; in Ages. p. 613. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 375. et 390.

[s] Xenoph. ibid. p. 608. Id. in Ages. p. 662. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 38. et lib. 39. cap. 37. Nep. in Ages. cap. 6. Justin. lib. 14. cap. 5.

[t] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 613.

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complaints of the inhabitants, who saw their possessions ravaged, and their lives in danger; the general outcry, which accused him of being the author of the miseries of all Greece; and the painful recollection of a reign once so splendid, and dishonoured towards its close by a spectacle no less novel than tremendous: for, during several centuries past, the enemy had scarcely ventured on a few hasty incursions, on the frontiers of Laconia[u]; and never had the Spartan women beheld the smoke of their camp.

Notwithstanding these just subjects of alarm, Agesilaus exhibited a serene countenance, and despised the insults of his enemies, who, to force him to relinquish his position, alternately reproached him with cowardice, and laid waste the adjacent country in his sight. Whilst this was transacting, about two hundred conspirators having gained possession of an advantageous post, difficult to force, it was proposed to him to march a body of troops against them; but Agesilaus rejected this advice, and presenting himself to the rebels, followed by a single attendant, "You have mistaken my orders," said he to them; "it was not hither you should have repaired, but to such and such a place;" pointing, at the same time, to those in which it was his intention to disperse them. They instantly obeyed, and proceeded without hesitation to the different stations he assigned them[y].

Meanwhile, Epaminondas despaired of drawing the Lacedæmonians into the plain. The winter was far advanced. Already the inhabitants of Arcadia, of Argos, and of Elea, had abandoned the siege. The Thebans were suffering daily losses, and began to want provisions. The Athenians and other states were making levies in favour of the Lacedæmonians. These reasons induced Epaminondas to retreat. He spread devastation through the rest of Laconia; and, after

[u] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap 25. l. 4. cap. 41; lib. 5. cap. 14. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

[x] Isoc. in Archid. t. ii. p. 30. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. ap. Orat. Græc. p. 99. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 377. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 42. Plut. in Ages. p. 613.

[y] Plut. in Ages p. 614.

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avoiding the army of the Athenians, commanded by Iphicrates, led back his own, without interruption, into Bœotia [z].

The chiefs of the Bœotian league hold their office only for a year, at the expiration of which they ſhould reſign the command to their ſucceſſors. Epaminondas and Pelopidas had retained their authority four months longer than the term preſcribed by law [a]. For this they were accuſed, and judicially proſecuted. The latter defended himſelf without dignity, and had recourſe to ſupplications; but Epaminondas appeared before his judges with the ſame tranquillity as at the head of his army; and thus addreſſed them: "The law "condemns me; I merit death [b]. I only demand that this "inſcription be engraven on my tomb: The Thebans have "put Epaminondas to death, becauſe at Leuctra he forced "them to attack and vanquiſh thoſe Lacedæmonians, whom "they did not before dare to look in the face; becauſe his "victory ſaved his country, and reſtored liberty to Greece; be-"cauſe, under his command, the Thebans beſieged Lacedæ-"mon, which deemed herſelf too fortunate to eſcape from "ruin; and becauſe he rebuilt Meſſena, and ſurrounded it "with ſtrong walls [c]!" All preſent applauded this ſpeech of Epaminondas, and the judges did not dare to condemn him.

Envy, which receives new animation from the failure of its projects, believed the opportunity to humble him was now arrived. In the diſtribution of public offices, the conqueror of Leuctra was appointed to ſuperintend the cleanlineſs of the ſtreets, and the maintenance of the common ſewers of the city. He gave dignity to this employment, and ſhowed, as he himſelf had ſaid, that we ſhould not judge of men by their places, but of places by thoſe who fill them [d].

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[z] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 612.

[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p 290. Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.

[b] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 540.

[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 8. Ælian. lib. 13. cap. 42.

[d] Plut. de Præcept. Reip. t. ii. p. 811.

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During the ſix years which have ſince elapſed, we have more than once ſeen Epaminondas render the Theban arms reſpected in Peloponneſus, and Pelopidas exhibit them triumphant in Theſſalia [e]. We have ſeen the latter choſen arbitrator between two brothers, competitors for the throne of Macedon; and, after having terminated their differences, and reſtored peace to that diſtracted kingdom [f], paſs to the court of Suſa [g], where, preceded by his fame, he received the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, entirely * diſconcerted the meaſures of the ambaſſadors of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were ſoliciting the alliance of the king of Perſia, and obtained for his country a treaty of ſtrict union with that prince.

He laſt year † headed an expedition againſt a tyrant of Theſſaly, named Alexander, and fell in battle while purſuing the enemy, whom he had reduced to a ſhameful flight [h]. Thebes and the allied powers wept his death: Thebes has loſt one of her ableſt ſupporters; but Epaminondas ſtill lives. He projects to give the fatal blow to Lacedæmon. All the Grecian republics are dividing, forming leagues, and making immenſe preparations. It is ſaid that the Athenians will join the Lacedæmonians; but that this union will not deter Epaminondas. The next ſpring will decide this mighty quarrel.—— Such was the recital of Cleomedes.

After ſeveral days favourable navigation, we arrived at the Thracian Boſphorus, the name given to the channel of which Cleomedes had ſpoken. Its entrance is dangerous; contrary winds often drive veſſels on the neighbouring coaſts [i], where navigators are condemned either to death or ſlavery; for the inhabitants of that country are real barbarians, ſince they are cruel [k].

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[e] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 616. et 624. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 291. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 280. 283.

[f] Plut. ibid.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 7. p. 620. Plut. ib. p. 294.

* The year 367 before J. C. Dodwell, Annal.

† The year 364 before J. C.

[h] Plut. in Pelop. p. 296. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 5. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 286.

[i] Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 100.

[k] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 380 et 482.

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On entering the channel *, the crew addressed repeating thanksgivings to Jupiter, surnamed Urius, whose temples we had seen on our left on the Asiatic coast, and who had preserved us from the danger of so tempestuous a sea [l]. In the mean time, I observed to Timagenes, that the Euxine sea receives, as it is said, near forty rivers, some of them very considerable, which cannot all escape by so inadequate an outlet [m]. What then, said I, becomes of that prodigious quantity of water which falls day and night into this vast reservoir?—You see part of it flow through the strait, answered he. The remainder is raised in vapour, by the rays of the sun; for the waters of this sea being fresher, and consequently lighter, than those of other seas, more easily evaporate [n]. And how can we be certain but that those abysses of which we heard Cleomedes speak, may absorb part of the waters of the Euxine, and convey them to distant seas by subterraneous passages under the continent?

The Thracian Bosphorus divides Europe from Asia. Its length, from the temple of Jupiter to the city of Byzantium, where it terminates, is one hundred and twenty stadia [o] †; its breadth is various; at the entrance it is four stadia [p] ‡, at the other extremity fourteen ||; and in certain places its waters form large basons and deep bays [q].

On each side, the country rises in an amphitheatre, and presents the most agreeable and highly diversified points of view; hills clothed with wood, and fertile valleys, form, at intervals, a striking contrast with the rocks, which suddenly change the direction of the channel [r].

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* See the map of the Thracian Bosphorus.

l Chishull. Antiq. Asiat. p. 61.

m Voy. de Tournefort, t. ii. p. 123.

n Arist. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 552.

o Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 307 et 311. Arrian. Peripl. p. 12. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i.

† 4 leagues 1340 toises (2861 yards).

p Herodot. ibid. Strab. lib. 2. p. 125.

‡ 805 yards.

|| 2825 yards. The ancients differ amongst themselves, and still more the moderns, respecting these measures, as well as respecting those of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont. I have generally adhered to those of Herodotus, as the best known at the time of this voyage.

q Voy. de Tournef. t. ii. p. 156.

r Id. ibid. p. 125.

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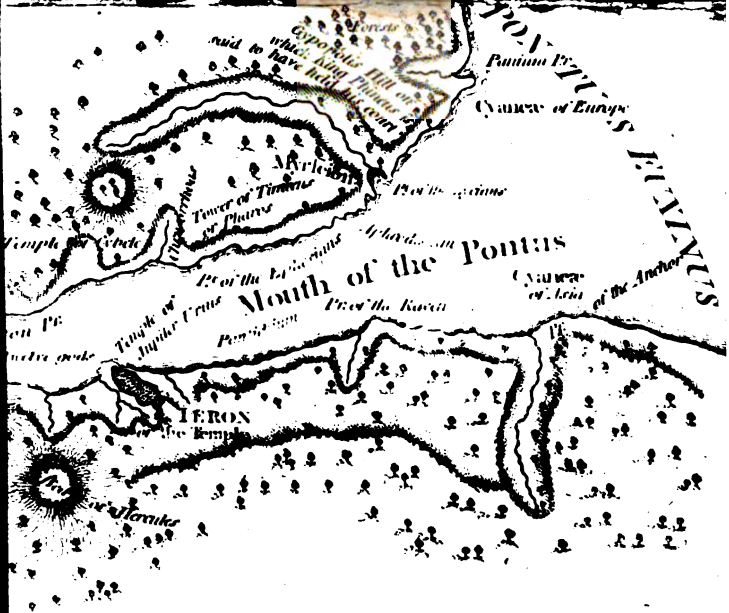

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On the highest of these eminences are discovered monuments of the piety of the people; on the shore, delightful houses, tranquil harbours, cities and towns enriched by commerce, and streams pouring forth the tribute of their waters. These prospects are animated, in certain seasons, by numberless boats employed in the fishery, and vessels under sail for the Euxine, or returning laden with its produce.

Towards the middle of the channel, we were shown the place where Darius, king of Persia, passed seven hundred thousand men he was leading against the Scythians, over a bridge of boats. The strait, which is only five stadia in breadth *, is there narrowed by a promontory, on which stands a temple of Mercury [s]. At this spot, two men placed, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, may easily make themselves heard by each other [t]. Soon after, we came in sight of the citadel and walls of Byzantium, and entered the port, after leaving on the left the little city of Chrysopolis, and discovering, on the same side, that of Chalcedon.

CHAP. II.

Description of Byzantium.—Voyage from that City to Lesbos.—The Straits of the Hellespont.—Greek Colonies.

Byzantium, anciently founded by the Megareans [u], and successively rebuilt by the Milesians [x], and other nations of Greece [y], is situated on a promontory nearly of a triangular form. Never was there a happier or more majestic situation. The eye, while glancing over the horizon, reposes to the right, on the sea called the Propontis; opposite, and beyond a nar-

* 1008 yards.

[s] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 311. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 24.

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii, p. 635.

[u] Steph. in Βυζάντ. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 804.

[x] Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 15.

[y] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 308. Justin. lib. 9. cap. 1.

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row channel, on the cities of Chalcedon and Chrysopolis; then on the strait of the Bosphorus; and lastly, on fertile eminences, and a gulf which serves by way of harbour, and retreats to the depth of sixty stadia [z] within the land *.

On the point of the promontory stands the citadel. The walls of the city are built of huge square stones, so jointed as apparently to form only a single block [a]; they are much loftier on the land side than towards the water, being naturally defended by the waves, and in some places by the rocks they are built on, which project into the sea [b].

In this city, besides a gymnasium [c], and several kinds of public edifices, we meet with all the conveniences a rich and numerous people are able to procure [d]. They assemble in a forum, spacious enough to contain a small army ranged in order of battle [e]. There they confirm or reject the decrees of a senate more enlightened than themselves [f]. This absurdity has struck me in several of the Grecian cities, and has often made me recollect the saying of Anacharsis to Solon: "With "you, it is the sages who discuss, and the ignorant who de-"cide [g]."

The territory of Byzantium produces an abundance of grain and fruits [h], but is exposed to the too frequent incursions of the Thracians, who inhabit the adjoining villages [i]. A surprising quantity of fish is caught in the harbour itself [k], in autumn, when they descend from the Euxine into the lower seas; and, in spring, in their return to the Pontus [l]. This

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[z] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320.

* 2¼ leagues.

[a] Diod. Hist. Rom. lib. 74. p. 1251. Herodian. lib. 3. in init.

[b] Dio. ibid. Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 395.

[c] Arist. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 190.

[e] Xenoph. ibid. Zozim. lib. 2. p. 687.

[f] Demosth. de Cor. p. 487.

[g] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 81.

[h] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 313. Herodian. lib. 3. in init. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 63.

[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. p. 398. Polyb. ibid.

[k] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 116. Pet. Gill. Præf. ad Urb. Descrip.

[l] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 6. cap. 17. t. i. p. 874; lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 913. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 15. t. i. p. 507. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 63.

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fishery, and the curing of the fish, produce great sums to the revenues of the city [m], which is crowded likewise with merchants, and supported by an active and flourishing commerce. Its port, sheltered on every side from tempests, attracts thither the vessels of all the Grecian nations; and its situation at the head of the strait enables it to stop or subject to heavy duties the foreign merchants who trade in the Euxine [n], and to famish the nations who draw from it their subsistence. Hence, the constant endeavours of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to engage this city in their interests. Byzantium was now in alliance with the former [o].

Cleomedes had taken in salt provisions at Panticapæum [p]; but as those of Byzantium are in higher estimation [q], he there completed his stock; and, after finishing his affairs, we left the harbour, and entered the Propontis. The breadth of this sea [r] is said to be five hundred stadia *, and its length fourteen hundred †. On its shores stand several celebrated cities, founded or conquered by the Greeks; on the one side, Salymbria, Perinthus, and Byzanthus; on the other, Astacus in Bithynia, and Cyficus in Mysia.

The seas we had visited presented on their coasts several settlements formed by the nations of Greece. I was to meet with others in the Hellespont, and doubtless also in still more distant seas. What were the motives of these emigrations? Whither were they directed? Have the colonies preserved any connections with the mother countries? Cleomedes laid before me several maps, and Timagenes lost no time in answering my questions.

Greece, said he, is a peninsula bounded on the west by the Ionian, and on the east by the Ægean sea. It comprises at

[m] Arist. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.
[n] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 549. Ib. in Polycl. p. 1084. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 542.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.
[p] Demosth. in Laer. p. 953.
[q] Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120.
[r] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 86.
* Near 19 leagues.
† Near 53 leagues.

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present Peloponnesus, Attica, Phocis, Bœotia, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, part of Epirus, and some other small provinces. There, among other flourishing cities, we distinguish Lacedæmon, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes.

This country is of a very moderate extent *, generally sterile, and almost every where mountainous. The savages, who were its ancient inhabitants, assembled together from necessity, and at length spread themselves over different districts. Let us take a cursory view of the present state of our possessions.

To the west, we occupy the neighbouring islands, as Zacynthus, Cephalenia, and Corcyra: we have even some settlements on the coasts of Illyria. Further on, we have formed numerous and powerful states on the coasts of the southern part of Italy, and in almost all Sicily. Still farther, you will find, in the country of the Gauls, Marseilles, founded by the Phocians, the mother of several colonies established on the adjacent coasts; Marseilles, who may pride herself in having instituted sage laws, conquered the Carthaginians [s], and made the sciences and arts of Greece flourish in a barbarous country.

In Africa, the opulent city of Cyrene, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, and Naucratis situated on one of the mouths of the Nile, are under our dominion.

Returning towards the north, you will find us in possession of almost the whole island of Cyprus, the isles of Rhodes and Crete, those of the Ægean sea, great part of the coasts of Asia opposite to those islands, the isles of the Hellespont, and several districts on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine.

As a natural consequence of their situation, the Athenian colonies directed their course towards the east, as those of Peloponnesus did towards the west of Greece [t]. The inhabi-

* About 1900 square leagues. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13.

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 12.

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tants of Ionia and several islands of the Ægean sea are of Athenian origin. Many cities were founded by the Corinthians in Sicily, and by the Lacedæmonians in Græcia Magna.

The excess of population in a district, the ambition of the chiefs [u], the love of liberty among the private citizens, contagious and frequent maladies, false predictions of the oracles, and rash vows, gave rise to many of these emigrations; those of a more recent date originated in commercial and political views. All these motives have contributed to add new countries to Greece, and introduced the laws of nature and of sentiment into the public code [x].

The ties by which children are bound to those who gave them birth, still subsist between the colonies and the cities that founded them [y]. Considered in their various relations, they assume the endearing and respectable names of daughter, sister, and mother, and their reciprocal alliances arise from these respective titles [z].

It is the natural duty of the mother country to protect her colonies, which, on their side, think themselves called upon to fly to her succour whenever she is attacked. From her it is that they frequently receive their priests, their magistrates [a], and generals; they adopt or retain her laws and customs, and the worship of her gods, and send annually to her temples the first fruits of their harvests. Her citizens, when among them, receive the first portion in the distribution of the victims, and are honoured with the most distinguished places at the public games and assemblies of the people [b].

Nor do so many prerogatives granted to the mother city, render her authority odious. The colonies are as free in their dependence, as children in the homage they pay to parents worthy of their affection. Such at least is the spirit which

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[u] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 42.

[x] Bougainv. Differt. sur les Metr. et les Col. p. 18. Spanh. de Præst. Num. p. 580. Ste. Croix, de l'Etat des Colonies des anciens Peuples, p. 65.

[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754.

[z] Spanh. ibid. p. 575.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 56.

[b] Spanh. de Præst. Num. p. 580. Bougainv. ibid. p. 36.

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ſhould animate the greater part of the cities of Greece, and induce them to conſider Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, as the mothers or ſources of three numerous families diſperſed over three different quarters of the world. But the ſame cauſes that extinguiſh the ſentiments of nature among individuals, produce daily diſſenſions in theſe families of cities; and the real or apparent violation of their mutual duties has but too often furniſhed the pretext, or motive, of thoſe wars which have convulſed Greece [c].

The laws I have mentioned are obligatory only on ſuch colonies as have emigrated by order, or with the permiſſion of the mother country; the others and eſpecially thoſe in a remote ſituation, confine themſelves to an affectionate remembrance of the places whence they derived their origin. Generally ſpeaking, the former are no more than uſeful or neceſſary marts for the commerce of the mother country; and the coloniſts eſteem themſelves ſufficiently fortunate, when the native inhabitants whom they have driven back into the country, ſuffer them to remain quiet, or conſent to barter with them for their merchandize. Here, for example, the Greeks are ſettled on the ſea coaſts: beyond them, on the right, they poſſeſs the fertile plains of Thrace, and on the left the confines of the vaſt empire of the Perſians, inhabited by the Bithynians and Myſians. The poſſeſſions of the latter extend along the Helleſpont, which we are now about to enter *.

This was the third ſtrait I had met with in my voyage from Scythia. It is four hundred ſtadia [d] † in length, and we ſoon paſſed through it. The wind was favourable and the current rapid. The banks of this river, for ſo we may call this arm of the ſea, are interſected by riſing grounds, and covered with towns and villages. On one ſide we diſcovered the city of Lampſacus, whoſe territory is celebrated for its

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754.
* See map of the Helleſpont.
[d] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.
† 15½ leagues.

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vineyards [e]; on the other, the mouth of a small river called Ægos-Potamos, where Lysander gained the celebrated victory that terminated the Peloponnesian war. Further on, are the cities of Sestos and Abydos, almost opposite to each other. Near the former, stands the tower of Hero [f]. At this place, as I was informed, one of the young priestesses of Venus threw herself into the waves, which had swallowed up her lover Leander, who to visit her was obliged to swim over the channel [g].

Here I was told that the strait was only seven stadia in breadth [h]. Xerxes crossed the sea at this place over a double bridge of boats, at the head of the most formidable army that had ever invaded a country, and soon after repassed it in a fisherman's boat. On this side is the tomb of Hecuba, on the other that of Ajax; here the harbour whence the fleet of Agamemnon set sail for Asia, and there the coasts of the kingdom of Priam.

We were now at the extremity of the strait. Full of Homer, and animated by all his poetic passions, I eagerly entreated to be set on shore. I leaped on the land, and beheld Vulcan darting whirlwinds of fire on the foaming waves of the Scamander raging against Achilles. I approached the gates of the city, and my heart was rent with the tender parting of Andromache and Hector. I saw Paris adjudge the prize of beauty, on Mount Ida, to the mother of Love. I beheld Juno arrive there; the earth smiled at her presence, and flowers sprang up beneath her steps. She wore the girdle of Venus, and never had she a juster claim to the title of queen of the gods.

So pleasing an illusion was but of short duration, and I was unable to discover the places immortalised by the poems of Homer. Not a vestige of the city of Troy is now remaining; even her ruins have disappeared [i]. Earthquakes and

[e] Strab. lib. 13. p. 589.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 591.
[g] Mela, lib. 1. cap. 19; lib. 2 cap. 2. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 258 Ovid. Amor. lib. 2. eleg. 16. v. 31.
[h] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.
[i] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 9. v. 969.

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accumulations of ſoil have changed the whole face of this country [k].

I returned to the veſſel, and my heart beat with joy on learning that we were near the end of our voyage, being now in the Ægean ſea, and that the next day we ſhould be at Mytilene, one of the principal cities of Leſbos.

We left the iſles of Imbros, Samothrace, and Thaſos on the right: the latter of theſe is famous for its gold mines [l], and the ſecond celebrated for its ſacred myſteries. Towards the evening we perceived, in the quarter of Lemnos which we had diſcovered to the weſtward, volumes of flame riſing up at intervals into the air. I was told that theſe proceeded from the ſummit of a mountain [m], that the iſland was full of ſubterraneous fires, that ſeveral ſprings of hot water were found there [n], and that the ancient Greeks did not attribute theſe phenomena to natural cauſes. Vulcan, ſaid they, has ſet up one of his furnaces in Lemnos, where the Cyclops are employed in forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter. The people imagine the noiſe that ſometimes accompanies the eruption of the flames, to be occaſioned by the ſtrokes of the hammer.

About the middle of the night we coaſted along the iſle of Tenedos, and at day-break entered the channel that ſeparates Leſbos from the neighbouring continent [o]. Soon after we arrived oppoſite to Mytilene, and ſaw a proceſſion in the country ſlowly advancing towards a temple which we diſcovered in the back ground. This was the temple of Apollo, whoſe feſtival they were celebrating [p]. Sonorous voices made the air re-echo with their ſongs. The day was ſerene, and a gentle zephyr playing in our ſails. Delighted with this ſcene, I did not obſerve that we were in the harbour. Cleomedes

[k] Herodot. lib 2. cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1 p. 58. Wood, Eſſay on the Orig. &c. p. 108.

[l] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 46.

[m] Boch. Georg. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 399.

[n] Euſt. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 157.

[o] Voy. de Tournef. t. 1. p. 392.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 3.

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found his friends and relations on the shore, who received him with transports of joy. With them were assembled a multitude of sailors and workmen, who all fixed their eyes on me, demanding with a turbulent curiosity who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. We took up our lodgings with Cleomedes, who undertook to procure us a conveyance to the continent of Greece.

CHAP. III.

Description of Lesbos—Pittacus—Alcæus—Sappho.

NOTWITHSTANDING the impatience of Timagenes to revisit his native country, we waited near a month for the departure of a vessel to convey us to Chalcis, the capital of Eubœa. This interval I employed in obtaining information respecting every interesting object of the country.

Lesbos is estimated to be eleven hundred stadia [q] in circumference *. The island, especially in the eastern and western parts, is intersected by chains of mountains and rising grounds; some covered with vines, others with beech, cypress, and pine-trees [r]. Many of the hills abound with an ordinary and little esteemed marble [s]. The intermediate plains produce a great quantity of corn [t]. In several places we meet with hot springs [u], agates, and different kinds of precious stones [x], and almost every where with the myrtle, olive, and fig-tree; but the principal riches of the inhabitants consist in their wines, which in many countries are preferred to those of Greece [y].

[q] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.

* Above 41 leagues.

[r] Bened. Bondone Isolario, lib. 2. p. 58. Porcacchi Isole piu famos. lib. 2. p. 28. Rich. Pocock. Description of the East, t. ii. part ii. p. 16.

[s] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 731.

[t] Pocock. Description of the East, t. ii. p. 20.

[u] Id. ibid.

[x] Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 787. et 792.

[y] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 28. Archest. ap. eund. lib. 1. cap 23. p. 29. Id. lib. 3. p. 92. Plin. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 717. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 31.

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Nature has formed bays along the coaſt, around which cities have ariſen which are now fortified by art, and rendered flouriſhing by commerce. Such are Mytilene, Pyrrha, Methymna, Ariſba, Ereſſus, and Antiſſa [z], whoſe whole hiſtory is a continued ſeries of revolutions. After alternately experiencing the bleſſings of liberty, and the wretchedneſs of ſervitude, they ſhook off the Perſian yoke in the time of Xerxes, and more than once detached themſelves from the alliance of the Athenians during the Peloponneſian war [a], though they have been conſtantly compelled to return to it, and remain at this day members of that union. One of theſe defections was attended with conſequences as fatal, as the cauſe from which it proceeded was trivial.

One of the chief citizens of Mytilene, failing in his attempt to obtain two wealthy heireſſes for his ſons, contrived to ſow diſſenſion among the inhabitants of the city, accuſed them of an intention to join the Lacedæmonians, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his intrigues as to induce Athens to ſend a fleet to Leſbos to prevent and puniſh the defection [b]. In vain did all the adjoining cities, except Methymna, take up arms in defence of their ally. They were ſoon reduced by the Athenians, who took Mytilene, razed her walls, ſeized on her ſhips, and put to death the principal inhabitants, to the number of one thouſand [c]. The territory of Methymna alone was ſpared; the remainder of the iſland was divided into three thouſand portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods, and the others drawn for by lot by the Athenians, who, unable themſelves to cultivate them, farmed them out to the ancient proprietors, at two minæ each portion; which brought in an annual revenue of ninety talents * for the new poſſeſſors.

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[z] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 151. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 2.

[b] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 108.

* 486,000 livres (20,050l.).

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Since that fatal period, Mytilene, after repairing her losses and rebuilding her walls [d], has attained the same degree of splendour she enjoyed for many ages [e]. The extent of ground she occupies, the beauty of her edifices, the number and opulence of her inhabitants [f], entitle her to the name of the capital of Lesbos. The ancient town, built in a small island, is separated from the modern city by an arm of the sea [g]. The latter extends along the shore, in a plain bounded by hills covered with vines and olive-trees [h], beyond which is a very fertile and very populous country. But, however fortunate the position of Mytilene may appear, it is incommoded by prevailing winds, which sometimes render it almost insupportable. The southerly winds and those of the north-west, are the cause of various disorders, whilst the northern gales, which bring their cure, are so cold, that when they blow it is difficult to remain in the streets and open places [i]. The commerce of Mytilene attracts a number of foreign vessels into her harbours; one of which is situated to the north, the other to the southward of the city. The former, which is more spacious and deeper than the latter, is sheltered from the fury of the winds and waves by a kind of mole of huge rocks [k].

Lesbos is the abode of pleasure, or rather of the most unrestrained licentiousness [l]. The inhabitants relax their principles of morality as occasion may require, and adapt themselves to circumstances with as much facility as they open or shut certain leaden rules made use of by their architects [m] *. Nothing in all my travels surprised me more than such a dissoluteness of manners, and the change it effected in my mind.

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[d] Diod. lib. 17. t. ii. p. 509.
[e] Plin. lib. 5. t. i. p. 288.
[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 445. Strab. lib. 13. p. 616 et 617. Cicer. de Leg. Agr. orat. 2. cap. 16. t. v. p. 119.
[g] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 201.
[h] Long. Pastor. lib. 1. in init. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 15.
[i] Vitruv. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[k] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 200. Strab. lib. 13. p. 617. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 15.
[l] Athen. lib. 10. p. 438. Lucian. Dialog. 5. p. 289. t. iii.
[m] Arist. de Mor. lib. 5. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 72.

* These rules served to measure all sorts of plane and curve surfaces.

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I had imbibed the impreſſions of infancy without examination; and my reaſon, formed on the authority and example of that of others, found itſelf ſuddenly at a loſs amongſt a more enlightened people. I found in this new world a freedom of ideas and ſentiments which at firſt gave me pain. But the men inſenſibly taught me to bluſh at my ſobriety, and the women at my reſerve. My progreſs in politeneſs of manners and of language was leſs rapid. I was like a tree tranſplanted from a foreſt into a garden, whoſe branches it is a work of time to bend to the fancy of the gardener.

During this courſe of education, I paid particular attention to the celebrated perſonages whom Leſbos has produced, and at the head of the moſt diſtinguiſhed names ſhall place that of Pittacus, ranked by Greece among the number of her ſages [n].

The lapſe of more than two centuries ſince his death has only added new luſtre to his glory. By his valour and his prudence he reſcued Mytilene, his country, from the tyrants who had enſlaved her, the war ſhe had engaged in againſt the Athenians, and the inteſtine diviſions to which ſhe was a prey [o]. When the ſovereign power of the city and of the whole iſland was intruſted to him, his only view in accepting it, was to reſtore peace to his country, and give her thoſe laws of which ſhe ſtood in need [p]. One of theſe merits the attention of philoſophers [q]: I mean the law that inflicts a double puniſhment on crimes committed in intoxication. Though apparently not proportioned to the offence, it was neceſſary to deſtroy the plea of ignorance in the exceſſes to which the love of wine hurried the Leſbians. Having finiſhed his work of legiſlation, Pittacus reſolved to dedicate the

[n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343; et alii.

[o] Diod. Excerpt. p. 234. in excerpt. Valeſ. Strab. l. 13 p 600. Plut. de Malign. Herod. t. ii. p 858. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 25.

[p] Ariſt. de Rep lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357. Laert. lib 1. § 75.

[q] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 34. Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. ii. p. 582. Laert. ibid. § 76. t. i.

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remainder of his life to the ſtudy of wiſdom [r], and abdicated without oſtentation the ſovereign power. When aſked his reaſon, he replied; "I was terrified at ſeeing Periander of Corinth become the tyrant, after he had been the father of his ſubjects [s]. It is too difficult to be always virtuous [t]."

Muſic and poetry have made ſo great a progreſs at Leſbos, that, though the language ſpoken there be not ſo pure as at Athens [u], the Greeks ſtill continue to ſay that the Muſes make the air re-echo with their lamentations at the funerals of the Leſbians [x]. This iſland poſſeſſes a ſchool of muſic, which, if we credit a tradition I learned at Methymna, dates its origin in the moſt remote ages. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat it. Yet, to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greeks, it is not improper ſometimes to conſider the fictions with which their annals are embelliſhed or diſfigured: for, from the hiſtory of this people, we learn the true character of their paſſions; and from their fables that of their genius.

Orpheus, whoſe ſongs wrought ſo many prodigies, having been torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, his head and lyre were thrown into the Hebrus, a river of Thrace, and conveyed by the waves of the ſea to the ſhores of Methymna [y]. In its paſſage, the voice of Orpheus ſent forth enchanting ſounds, accompanied by the lyre, the ſtrings of which were gently agitated by the wind [z]. The Methymnians buried the head in a place which they ſhowed me, and hung up the lyre in the temple of Apollo. As a recompence, the god inſpired them with a taſte for muſic, and rendered the iſland fertile in genius [a]. Whilſt the prieſt of Apollo was giving me this detail, a citizen of Methymna obſerved that the Muſes had interred the body of Orpheus in a diſtrict of Thrace [b], and that

[r] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. ii. p. 281. Laert. ibid. § 75.
[s] Zenob. cent. 6. prov. 38.
[t] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 339.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 341.
[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 338.
[y] Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. v. 55. Phylarg. in Georg. Virg. lib. 4. 523. Euſtat. in Dionyſ. v. 536.
[z] Lucian. Adv. Indoct. t. iii. p. 109.
[a] Hygin. Aſtron. Poet. lib. 2. cap. 7.
[b] Id. ibid.

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in the neighbourhood of his tomb the ſong of the nightingale was more melodious than in any other country [c].

Leſbos has produced a ſucceſſion of men of genius, who have tranſmitted to each other the honour of excelling all the other muſicians of Greece in the art of playing on the cithara [d]. The names of Arion of Methymna, and Terpander of Antiſſa, are an ornament to this numerous liſt.

The former, who lived about three hundred years ſince [e], has left a collection of poems [f], which he ſang, accompanied by his lyre, as was then the practice with all the poets. After inventing, or at leaſt improving dithyrambics [g], a ſpecies of poetry of which I ſhall ſpeak further hereafter, he adapted them to circular dances [h], a cuſtom ſtill prevalent in our days. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, long detained him in that city, which he left to go into Sicily, where he gained the prize in a muſical competition [i]. Embarking next for Tarentum, in a Corinthian veſſel, the ſailors determined to throw him into the ſea, to get poſſeſſion of his property; but after endeavouring in vain to move them by the harmony of his voice and lyre, he plunged into it himſelf [k]. A dolphin, of greater ſenſiblity than the inexorable mariners, conveyed him, it is ſaid, to the promontory of Tænarus; a kind of prodigy, the poſſibility of which they endeavoured to prove to me by reaſons and examples. The fact, atteſted by Arion in one of his hymns [l], and preſerved in the tradition of the Leſbians, was confirmed to me at Corinth, where it was added, that Periander put the ſailors to death [m]. I myſelf ſaw at Tænarus [n], on the Helicon [o], and at other places, the ſtatue of this poet, who is always repreſented on a dolphin. We may

[c] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 769.
[d] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1133.
[e] Solin. cap. 7.
[f] Suid. in Ἀρίων.
[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 23. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 13. v. 25.
[h] Hellan. et Dicæar. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in av. v. 1403.
[i] Solin. cap. 7.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 24. Oppian. Halieut. lib. 5. v. 450. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 8. t. i. p. 502. Solin. cap. 12.
[l] Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 12. cap. 45.
[m] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 24.
[n] Id. ibid. Dion. Chryſt. orat. 37. p. 455. Gell. lib. 16. cap. 19.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 30. p. 767.

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add, that dolphins not only appear ſenſible to muſic [p], capable of gratitude, and friendly to man [q]; but that they have more than once repeated the affecting ſcene I have been mentioning [r]. They ſaved from ſhipwreck Taras, the founder of Tarentum; and Ariſtotle [s] made me remark, one day, that the inhabitants of that city had preſerved the memory of this fact upon their coin *.

Terpander [t] lived nearly at the ſame time with Arion. He more than once carried off the prize at the public games of Greece [u]; but his real victories were his diſcoveries. He added three ſtrings to the lyre, which till his time had only four [x]; compoſed airs for various inſtruments, which were conſidered as models [y]; invented ſeveral new ſpecies of poetical metre [z]; and introduced an action, and conſequently an intereſt, into the hymns written for the prize in muſical competitions [a]. Thanks are due to him likewiſe for having fixed by notes the meaſure proper for the poetry of Homer [b]. The Lacedæmonians ſtyle him, by way of excellence, the Leſbian ſongſter [c]; and the other Greeks hold him in that high eſteem with which they never fail to honour thoſe talents which contribute to their pleaſures.

About fifty years after Terpander, Alcæus and Sappho, who both are entitled to a place in the firſt claſs of lyric poets, flouriſhed at Mytilene. Alcæus [d] was born with a reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition, and ſeemed at firſt inclined to adopt the profeſſion of arms, which he preferred to every other

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[p] Arion. ap. Ælian. ibid. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 8. t. i. p. 502.

[q] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 9. cap. 48. t. i. p. 954. Ælian. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 15.

[r] Plin. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 13. p. 831.

[s] Ariſt. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 80.

* The medals of Tarentum have in fact the figure of a man ſeated on a dolphin, holding in his hands a lyre.

[t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 234. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. 1. p. 213.

[u] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1132. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 4. p. 635.

[x] Terp. ap. Eucl. Introd. Harmon. p. 19; in Autor. Antiq. Muſ. t. i. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618.

[y] Plut. ibid. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 35.

[z] Plut. ibid. p. 1135.

[a] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 9. § 66.

[b] Plut. ibid. p. 1132.

[c] Id. de Ser. Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 558.

[d] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 563.

[e] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

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purſuit. His houſe was filled with ſwords, helmets, shields, and cuiraſſes [e]; but, on his firſt eſſay in the field, he ſhamefully fled, and the Athenians, after their victory, branded him with diſgrace, by ſuſpending his arms in the temple of Minerva at Sigæum [f]. He made great pretenſions to the love of liberty; but was ſuſpected of harbouring a ſecret wiſh for its deſtruction [g]. With his brothers, he firſt joined Pittacus, to expel Melanchrus, tyrant of Mytilene [h], and then took part with the malecontents to ſubvert the government of Pittacus. This violence and indecency of the abuſe he laviſhed on that prince [i] evinced nothing but his jealouſy. Baniſhed from Mytilene, he ſome time after returned at the head of the exiles [k], and fell into the hands of his rival, who took the nobleſt revenge by pardoning him [l].

Poetry, love, and wine, conſoled him for his diſgrace. His early writings were filled with invectives againſt tyranny: he now ſang the gods [m], and, above all, the deities who preſide over pleaſures [n]; he ſang his loves, his warlike labours, his travels, and the miſeries of baniſhment [o]. His genius required to be ſtimulated by intemperance [p]; and it was in a kind of intoxication that he compoſed thoſe works that have acquired him the admiration of poſterity [q]. His ſtyle, uniformly adapted to his ſubject, has no other defects but what ariſe from the language ſpoken at Leſbos. He unites harmony with vigour, and richneſs with preciſion and perſpicuity. He ſoars almoſt to the height of Homer, when he deſcribes battles, or would make a tyrant tremble [r].

Alcæus had conceived a paſſion for Sappho, and he one day wrote to her: "I wiſh to explain myſelf, but ſhame re-

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[e] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[h] Laert. lib. 1. § 74.
[i] Id. ibid. § 81. Menag. Not. in Laert.
[k] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14.
[l] Laert. ibid. § 76.
[m] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 563.
[n] Horat. lib. 1. od. 32.
[o] Alcæi Carm. Horat. lib. 2. od. 13.
[p] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 429.
[q] Dion. Halicar. de Struct. Orat. t. v. p. 187.
[r] Id. de Cenſ. Vet. Script. t. v. p. 421. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 631.

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strains me." "Your forehead would not blush," answered she, "were not your heart culpable [s]."

Sappho was accustomed to say: "I am actuated by the love of pleasures and of virtue [t]. Without virtue nothing is so dangerous as riches, and happiness consists in the union of both [u]. She used likewise to say: "This person is distinguished by his figure, that by his virtues; the one appears beautiful at a first view, the other not less so at a second [x]."

I was one day repeating these, and many similar expressions, to a citizen of Mytilene, and added: "The figure of Sappho is seen upon your coins [y], and you profess the highest veneration for her memory [z]. How is it possible to conciliate the sentiments she has left us in her writings, and the honours you publicly decree her, with the infamous manners with which she is privately reproached?" He answered me, "We are not sufficiently acquainted with particulars to form a competent judgment of her life [*]. Strictly speaking, no conclusion can be drawn in her favour from the love she professes for virtue, nor from the honours we pay to her talents. When I read some of her works, I dare not acquit her; but she had merit and enemies; and I dare not condemn her."

After the death of her husband, she devoted her leisure hours to letters, and undertook to inspire the Lesbian women with a taste for literature [a]. Many of them received instructions from her, and foreign women increased the number of her disciples. She loved them to excess, because it was impossible for her to love otherwise, and she expressed

[s] Arist. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 531.

[t] Sapph. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 687.

[u] Rad. apud Schol. Pindar. Olymp. 2. v. 96; et Pyth. 5. v. 1.

[x] Rad. in Fragm. Christ. Wolf. p. 72.

[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 84.

[z] Arist. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 576.

[*] It must be observed, that every thing relative to the dissolute manners of Sappho, is to be found only in authors greatly posterior to the time in which she lived.

[a] Suid in Sapph.

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her tenderness with all the violence of passion. Your surprise at this will cease, when you become better acquainted with the extreme sensibility of the Greeks, and discover that amongst them the most innocent connections often borrow the impassioned language of love. Read the dialogues of Plato, you will there see in what terms Socrates speaks of the beauty of his pupils [b]. Yet no person knew better than Plato how pure the intentions of his master were. Nor was there less purity perhaps in those of Sappho. But a certain facility of manners she possessed, and the warmth of her expressions, were but too well calculated to expose her to the hatred of some women of distinction, humbled by her superiority, and of the jealousy of some of her disciples, who happened not to be the objects of her preference. To this hatred, which broke forth into violence, she replied by truths and irony [c], which completely exasperated her enemies. She then complained of their persecutions [d], and this was a new crime. Compelled at length to fly *, she repaired to Sicily in search of an asylum [e], where, as I am told, it is intended [f] to erect a statue to her †. If the rumours you speak of are, as I believe them to be, without foundation, we may learn from her example, that great indiscretions are sufficient to tarnish the reputation of every person exposed to the eye of the public and posterity.

The sensibility of Sappho was extreme.—"She was then exceedingly unhappy," said I. "Undoubtedly she was," replied he. "She loved Phaon, who forsook her [g]. After various attempts to bring him back, despairing henceforward of happiness either with him or without him, she took the leap

b Plat. in Phædr. Maxim. Tyr. differt. 24. § 9. p. 297.

c Athen. lib. 1. p. 21. Sapph. ap. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 146; apud Stob. de Imprud. serm. 4. p. 52.

d Horat lib. 2. od. 13.

* See note at the end of the volume.

e Marm. Oxon. epoch. 37.

f Cicer. in Verr. lib. 4. cap. 57. t. iv. p. 402.

† This statue was erected some years after. It was sculptured by Silanion, one of the most celebrated artists of his time. Cicer. ibid. Tatian. ad Græc. cap. 52. p. 113.

g Athen. lib. 13. p. 596. Plin. lib. 22. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 269. Ovid. Heroid. ep. 15. t. i. p. 195.

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of Leucata, and perished in the waves [h]. Death has not effaced the stain imprinted on her character, and perhaps, added he, concluding his discourse, it will never be obliterated; for envy, which fastens on illustrious names, does indeed expire, but bequeathes her aspersions to that calumny which never dies.

Sappho has composed hymns, odes, elegies, and a number of other pieces, principally in a kind of metre of which she was herself the inventress [i]: all of these abound in various novel and happy expressions with which she has enriched the language [k].

Several of the Grecian women have cultivated poetry with success, but none have hitherto attained to the excellence of Sappho [l], and among the other poets there are few indeed who have surpassed her. What an attention does she display in the selection of her words and subjects! She has painted all the most pleasing objects in nature [m]. She has painted them in the most harmonizing colours, and so skilful is she in their distribution, as always to produce the happiest combination of light and shade [n]. Her taste is transcendent even in the mechanism of her style, in which, by an address which gives not the least idea of labour, we meet with no dissonant clashings, no violent shocks between the elements of language; and the most delicate ear would scarcely discover in a whole poem, a few sounds which it had been better to suppress [o]. So perfect is the ravishing harmony of her style, that in the greatest part of her productions her verses flow with more grace and softness than those of Anacreon and Simonides.

But with what force of genius she hurries us along when she describes the charms, the transports and intoxication of

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[h] Men. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p 452.
[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 590. ehan. Christoph. Wolf Vit. Sapph. p. 6. et 18.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 167.
[l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[m] Demetr. Phal. de Elocut. § 132.
[n] Dion. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 23. p. 171.
[o] Id. ibid. p 180. Demetr. Phal. § 132. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397.

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love! What ſcenery! what warmth of colouring! Agitated, like the Pythia by the inſpiring god, ſhe throws on the paper her words that burn [p]. Her ſentiments fall like a cloud of arrows, or a fiery ſhower about to conſume every thing. She animates and perſonifies all the ſymptoms of this paſſion, to excite the moſt powerful emotions in our ſouls [q].

It was at Mytilene that I traced out this feeble ſketch of the talents of Sappho, guided by the judgment of ſeveral perſons of information and abilities; it was in the ſilence of meditation, in one of thoſe beautiful nights ſo common in Greece, on hearing, under my windows, a melting voice, accompanied by the lyre, ſing an ode, in which that illuſtrious Leſbian abandons herſelf, without reſerve, to the impreſſion made by beauty on her too ſuſceptible heart. Methought I ſaw her languid, trembling, and as if thunderſtruck; deprived of her underſtanding and her ſenſes; alternately bluſhing and turning pale; yielding to the diverſified and tumultuous emotions of her paſſion, or rather of all the jarring paſſions of her ſoul.

Such is the eloquence of ſentiment. Never does it produce deſcriptions ſo ſublime and of ſo aſtoniſhing an effect, as when it ſelects and blends together the leading circumſtances of an intereſting ſituation [r]; thus does it act on the heart in this little poem, of which I ſhall only give you the firſt ſtanzas.

Bleſt as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly ſits by thee,
And hears and ſees thee all the while
Softly ſpeak and ſweetly ſmile.

'Twas this depriv'd my ſoul of reſt,
And rais'd ſuch tumults in my breaſt;
For while I gaz'd, in tranſport toſt,
My breath was gone, my voice was loſt:

p Plut. Amat. t. ii. p. 763. Horat. lib. 4. od. 9. v. 11.

q Longin. de Subl. § 10.

r Id. ibid.

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My bosom glow'd; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame;
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung.

In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd;
My blood with gentle horrors thrill'd;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and died away *.

CHAP. IV.

Departure from Mytilene.—Description of Eubœa.—Arrival at Thebes.

THE next day they pressed us to embark. The boat was fastened to the vessel [s], and the two rudders to each side of the stern [t]. The mast was raised, the yard hoisted, the sails prepared, and every thing in readiness. Twenty rowers, ten on each side [u], already had their hands upon the oars. We quitted Mytilene with regret. At leaving the harbour, the crew sang hymns in honour of the gods, and with loud cries addressed them in vows to obtain a favourable wind [x].

When we had doubled Cape Malea, situated at the southern extremity of the island, we set our sails. The rowers redoubled their exertions, and we flew over the surface of the water. Our vessel, almost entirely built of fir [y], was of that kind which makes seventy thousand orgyiæ † in a summer's day, and sixty thousand ‡ in a night [z]. Some have been known to pass rapidly, in four and twenty days, from the

* See note at the end of the volume.
[s] Demos. in Zenoth. p. 929. Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucipp. Amor. lib. 3. cap. 3. p 240.
[t] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 146.
[u] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 949.
[x] Achill. Tat. lib. 2. cap. 32. p. 200.
[y] Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 533.
† About 26 leagues and a half.
‡ About 22 leagues three quarters.
[z] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 86.

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coldeſt regions to the hotteſt climates, ſailing in that time from the Palus Mæotis to Æthiopia [a].

We had a favourable paſſage, without any remarkable occurrences. Our tents were placed near the awning of the captain [b], who was named Phanes. Sometimes I liſtened from complaiſance to the narrative of his voyages, at others I took up my Homer, in whom I diſcovered new beauties. For it is in the countries which were the theatre of the events he has immortalized, that we beſt can judge of the accuracy of his deſcriptions and the truth of his colouring [c]. I took the greateſt delight in comparing his pictures with the real ſcenes of nature, without finding the merit of the copy in the leaſt impaired by compariſon with the original.

Meanwhile we began to diſcover the ſummit of a mountain called Ocha, which overtops every other in Eubœa [d]. The farther we advanced, the more did the iſland ſeem to lengthen from ſouth to north. It extends, ſaid Phanes, the length of Attica, Bœotia, the country of the Locrians, and part of Theſſaly [e]; but its breadth is not proportioned to its length. The country is fertile, and produces a great quantity of corn, wine, oil, and fruits [f]. It poſſeſſes alſo copper and iron mines [g]. Our artiſts are very ſkilful in working theſe metals [h], and we pride ourſelves on having been the firſt to diſcover the uſe of the former [i]. In ſeveral places we have hot ſprings, uſeful in the cure of various diſorders [k]. But theſe advantages are compenſated by earthquakes, which have ſometimes ſwallowed up whole cities, and occaſioned the ſea to overflow large tracts of our coaſts, formerly covered with inhabitants [l].

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a Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 167.

b Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 127

c Wood. Eſſay on the Original Genius of Homer.

d Strab. lib. 10. p. 445. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280.

e Strab. lib. 10. p. 444.

f Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 31.

g Strab. ibid. p. 447.

h Steph. in Ἄσωψ.

i Id. in Χαλκ. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280.

k Steph. ibid. Strab. ibid. Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 567. Plin. lib 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211.

l Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 567. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 89. Strab. lib. 10. p. 447.

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The situation of the island, its excellent harbours, opulent cities, strong fortresses [m], and rich harvests which often furnish Athens with provisions, give reason to presume that, if it fell into the hands of a sovereign prince, it would easily hold in chains the neighbouring nations [n]. Our divisions, by securing them from this danger, have often inspired them with the desire, and furnished them the means of reducing us to subjection [o]; but their jealousy has restored to us our liberty [p]. Less the subjects than allies of the Athenians, we are permitted, in consideration of a tribute [q], to enjoy our laws in peace, and the advantages of a democratical government. We may convoke general assemblies at Chalcis, and in these the claims and interests of our cities are discussed [r].

We had on board some inhabitants of Eubœa, whom commercial views had led to Mytilene, and who were now returning to their country. One of them was of Oreus, another of Carystus, and the third of Eretria. If the wind permits us, said the first to me, to enter by the north into the channel between the island and the continent, we may stop at the first town you find on the left [s], which is Oreus, almost entirely peopled by Athenians. You will there see a very strong place both from its position and the fortifications that defend it [t]. You will view a territory, of which the vineyards were already celebrated in the days of Homer [u].—If you enter the channel by the opposite side, said the second, I shall invite you to go on shore at the harbour of Carystus, which we shall find on the right. Your eye will be delighted with the view of a country abounding in pasture-grounds and flocks [x]. I will conduct you to the quarries of Mount

[m] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
[n] Demosth. de Cor. p. 483. Ulpian. in Orat. ad Aristocr. p. 769. Polyb. lib. 17. p. 751.
[o] Demosth. de Cor. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. cap. 7. p. 411.
[p] Demosth. ibid. p. 489. Id. in Androt. p. 710. Æschin. in Ctes. p. 441.
[q] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 442 et 443.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Liv. lib. 28. cap. 5.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 349. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 46.
[u] Iliad. lib. 2. v. 537.
[x] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 280.

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Ocha. The marble dug from them is of a ſea-green, with veins of different colours, and is extremely proper for columns [y]. You will ſee likewiſe a kind of ſtone capable of being ſpun, and of which a kind of cloth is made, that ſo far from being conſumed by fire, is only cleanſed by it from all its ſtains [z].

Come with me to Eretria, ſaid the third. I will ſhow you pictures and ſtatues without number [a]; you ſhall ſee a monument ſtill more venerable, the foundations of our ancient walls, deſtroyed by the Perſians whom we had the courage to reſiſt [b]. A pillar, erected in one of our temples, will prove to you that, at a feſtival annually celebrated in honour of Diana [c], we formerly brought out three thouſand foot ſoldiers, ſix hundred horſe, and ſixty chariots [d]. He then expatiated with ſo much warmth on the former power of that city, and the rank ſtill held by it in Greece, that Phanes could not refrain from entering on the eulogium of Chalcis, and a warm diſpute quickly enſued, reſpecting the pre-eminence of theſe two cities.

Aſtoniſhed at the violence with which they contended, I ſaid to Timagenes: Do theſe people confound their poſſeſſions with their perſonal qualities? Have you elſewhere many examples of ſuch rivalſhip?—It ſubſiſts, anſwered he, between the moſt powerful nations, as well as the moſt inconſiderable hamlets. It is founded on nature, which, to ſet every thing on earth in motion, has judged proper to implant two propenſities in our hearts, the ſource of all our enjoyments, and of all our ſufferings: the one is the love of thoſe pleaſures that tend to the conſervation of our ſpecies; the other, the love of ſuperiority, which generates ambition and injuſtice, emulation and induſtry, without which men would neither

[y] Strab. lib. 9. p. 437. Id. lib. 10. p. 446. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 80. p. 664.

[z] Strab. lib. 10. p. 446.

[a] Liv. lib. 32. cap. 16.

[b] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 101. Strab. ibid. p. 448.

[c] Liv. lib. 35. cap. 38.

[d] Strab. ibid.

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have hewn the columns of Caryſtus, painted the pictures of Eretria, nor perhaps even planted the vineyards of Oreus.

At this moment, the Chalcidean ſaid to his adverſary: Recollect that you are ridiculed on the ſtage of Athens, where they laugh at that barbarous pronunciation you have brought from Elis [e].—And have you forgotten, ſaid the Eretrian, that on the ſame ſtage they take rather more mortifying liberties with the avarice and depraved manners of the Chalcideans [f]? —But you will allow, ſaid the former, that Chalcis is one of the moſt ancient cities of Greece; Homer mentions it.—He ſpeaks of Eretria [g] in the ſame paſſage, replied the other.—We pride ourſelves on the colonies we formerly ſent into Thrace, Italy, and Sicily.—And we on thoſe we eſtabliſhed near Mount Athos [h].—Our anceſtors for ſome time groaned under the tyranny of the rich, and afterwards under that of a tyrant named Phoxus; but they had the courage to ſhake off the yoke and eſtabliſh a democracy [i].—Our fathers, in like manner, ſubſtituted a popular form of government for the ariſtocracy [k].—You ſhould not boaſt of that change, ſaid the Caryſtian; never were your cities ſo flouriſhing as under the adminiſtration of a ſmall number of citizens; for it was at that period that you ſent forth thoſe numerous colonies you have juſt mentioned.—They are both the more to blame, ſaid the inhabitant of Oreus, as the Chalcideans at this very day are cowardly enough to ſubmit to the tyranny of Mneſarchus, and the Eretrians to that of Themiſon [l].—It is not that they want courage, replied Timagenes; both nations are brave, and they have always been ſo. Upon one occaſion, before they proceeded to blows, they regulated the conditions of the combat, agreeing to fight hand to hand, without making uſe

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[e] Id. lib. 10. p. 448. Heſych. in Ἐρετρ. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 279.

[f] Heſych. et Suid. in Χαλη. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 279.

[g] Iliad. lib. 2. v. 538.

[h] Strab. lib. 10. p. 447. Euſtath. ibid.

[i] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 391.

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 395.

[l] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 441.

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of those weapons which destroy at a distance. This extraordinary convention is engraven on a stone that I once saw in the temple of Diana, at Eretria [m]. The consequence must have been a great effusion of blood; but it was an efficacious method of terminating the war.

Among the advantages on which you plume yourselves, said I in my turn, there is one you have passed over in silence. Has Eubœa produced no philosopher, no celebrated poet? How happens it that you have not imbibed a taste for letters by your connections with the Athenians [n]? They stood motionless. The captain gave his orders to the crew. We doubled the southern cape of the island, and entered a strait, the shores of which were bordered on each side with towns of different sizes, and, passing near the walls of Carystus and Eretria, we arrived at Chalcis.

This city is situated on a spot, where, by means of two promontories that project on both sides, the coasts of the island almost touch those of Bœotia [o]. This small interval, which is called Euripus, is in part filled up by a dike that Timagenes remembered to have seen constructed in his youth. On each end of it is a tower for its defence, and a drawbridge to let vessels pass [p]. Here we may more distinctly observe a phenomenon, the cause of which has never yet been discovered. Several times in the same day, and during the night, the waters of the sea flow alternately to the north and south, employing the same time to rise and to decrease. On certain days the ebb and flow seem subjected to regular laws, like those of the main ocean. But in an instant it departs from every rule [q], and the current is seen to change its direction every moment [r].

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[m] Strab. lib. 10. p. 448.
[n] Dicæarch. Stat Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 20.
[o] Strab. lib. 10. p. 445.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 173.
[q] Plut. in Phæd. t. i. p. 90.
[r] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 162.

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Chalcis is situated on the declivity of a hill of the same name [s]. Notwithstanding the considerable extent of this city, they are still proposing to enlarge it [t]. Lofty trees, which grow in the public places and gardens [u], protect the inhabitants from the heat of the sun, and a copious spring, called the Fountain of Arethusa, affords them an ample supply of water [x]. The city is embellished by a theatre, gymnasia, porticos, temples, statues, and paintings [y]. The excellence of its situation, its copper works [z], and the fertility of the neighbouring country, watered by the river Lelantus, and covered with olive-trees, invite to the harbour the vessels of commercial nations [a]. The inhabitants are ignorant and curious to excess: they exercise hospitality towards strangers, and, though jealous of liberty, easily bend their necks to servitude [b].

We slept at Chalcis, and the next morning, at day-break, arrived at Aulis, a small town on the opposite coast, near which there is a large bay, where the fleet of Agamemnon was so long detained by contrary winds [c].

From Aulis we passed by Salganeus, and proceeded to Anthedon, by a pretty easy road, lying partly along the sea shore, and partly over an eminence covered with wood, on which rise a number of springs [d]. Anthedon is a small town, with a public place shaded by handsome trees and surrounded by porticos. The principal occupation of the inhabitants is the fishery. A few cultivate a light soil, which produces a great deal of wine and very little corn [e].

We had now travelled seventy stadia *, and had only a hundred and sixty † to arrive at Thebes [f].

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[s] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 19. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p 279. Steph. in Χαλα.

[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 447.

[u] Dicæarch. ibid.

[x] Eustat. in Iliad. ibid.

[y] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p 19. Steph. in Χαλα.

[a] Dicæarch. ibid. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211.

[b] Dicæarch. ibid.

[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 403.

[d] Dicæarch. ibid.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 18.

* Above 2 leagues and a half.

† Somewhat more than 6 leagues.

[f] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 17 et 19.

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As we were in a carriage, we took the road of the plain, though it was long and circuitous [5]. We soon approached this great city. At sight of the citadel, which we discovered at a distance, Timagenes could no longer suppress his sighs. Hope and fear were alternately painted on his countenance.—There then is my country, said he; there is it that I left a father and mother who loved me with so much tenderness! Them I cannot flatter myself to find. But I had a brother and a sister: it is possible death may have spared them to my longing eyes.—These reflections, which were perpetually recurring, distracted both our souls. How much, at this instant, did I participate in his anxiety; and how much to be pitied did he appear to me a moment after! We arrived at Thebes, and the result of his first inquiries plunged a dagger into the heart of my friend. Regret for his absence had hurried the authors of his being to the grave. His brother had fallen in battle; his sister, who had been married at Athens, was no more, and had left only a son and daughter. His grief was extreme; but the marks of attention and tenderness he received from citizens of every rank, from some distant relations, and especially from Epaminondas, alleviated his sufferings, and compensated in some measure for his losses.

CHAP. V.

Stay at Thebes.—Epaminondas—Philip of Macedon.

IN the relation of a second journey I made into Bœotia, I shall speak of the city of Thebes, and of the manners of the Thebans. In my first, my whole attention was bestowed on Epaminondas.

I was presented to him by Timagenes; and he was too well acquainted with the sage Anacharsis not to be struck

[5] Id. ibid. p. 17.

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with my name. He was affected with the motives that brought me into Greece, and asked me many questions concerning the Scythians; but I was so impressed with admiration and respect, that I answered with hesitation. Perceiving my embarrassment, he turned the conversation on the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand. He desired to see us often, and we visited him every day. We were present at several conversations which he held with the most enlightened Thebans, and with the ablest officers. Though he had enriched his mind with every kind of knowledge, he chose rather to hear than to speak. His reflections were always just and profound. On occasions of controversy, when it was necessary to defend himself, his answers were prompt, energetic, and precise. Nothing could be more interesting than the conversation, when it turned on philosophical or political topics [h].

I call to mind, with a mixture of pride and pleasure, the familiar terms on which I lived with perhaps the greatest man that Greece ever has produced [i]; for why should we not grant this title to the general who perfected the art of war, who eclipsed the glory of the most renowned commanders [k], and was never vanquished but by fortune [l]; to the statesman who gave to Thebes a superiority she had never possessed, and which she lost immediately on his death [m]; to the negociator who, in the general assemblies and congresses of Greece, always maintained a superiority over the other Grecian deputies [n], and found means to retain in the alliance of Thebes, his country, even the states who were jealous of the growth of this new power; to the man who equalled in eloquence the greater part of the Athenian orators [o], was no less de-

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[h] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.

[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 313. Id. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 234.

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356 et 396. Ælian. lib. 7. cap. 14.

[l] Polyb. lib. 9. p. 548.

[m] Id. lib. 6. p. 488. Diod. ibid. p. 388 et 397. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 622. Nep. in Epam. cap. 10.

[n] Nep. in Epam. cap. 6.

[o] Cicer. in Brut. cap. 13. t. i. p. 346.

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voted to his country than Leonidas [p], and perhaps more just even than Aristides?

A faithful portrait of his mind and heart would be the only eulogy worthy of Epaminondas; but who is able to define and explain that sublime philosophy which enlightened and directed all his actions; that genius, so rich in information and so fruitful in resources; those plans, concerted with such prudence, and executed with such celerity? Who shall sufficiently describe his equality of mind, his purity of morals *, his dignity of demeanour and of manners, the attention he paid to truth even in the minutest particulars, his mildness, his benignity, and the patience with which he sustained the injustice of the people, and even of some of his friends [q]?

In a life where the private individual appears no less amiable than the public man, it will suffice promiscuously to select a few traits which serve to characterize them both. I have already related his principle achievements in the first chapter of this work.

His house was less the asylum than the sanctuary of poverty. She reigned there with the pure joy of innocence, and the unalterable serenity of happiness, surrounded by the other virtues, to which she gave new powers, while she derived lustre from their eminence. She reigned there with a privation so absolute as almost to surpass belief [r]. When on the point of setting out on an expedition into Peloponnesus, Epaminondas was obliged to borrow fifty drachmas to purchase himself the necessary equipage †; yet was it about the same time that he rejected with indignation fifty pieces of gold, which a Thessalian prince had ventured to offer him [s]. In vain did his friends attempt to share their fortune with him;

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[p] Id. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 123.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[q] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3. Plut. in Pelop. p. 290. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 49. p. 699.

[r] Front. Strat. lib. 4. cap. 3.

† About 45 livres (1l. 17s. 6d.)

[s] Ælian. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 193.

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but he made them ſhare the honour of relieving the wretched.

We found him one day with ſeveral of them aſſembled at his houſe, to whom he ſaid: Sphodrias has a daughter who is marriageable, but as he is too poor to give her a portion, I have taxed each of you according to your abilities. I am obliged to ſtay at home for a few days, but the firſt time I go out, I will preſent to you this worthy citizen, for it is but right that he ſhould receive your bounty from yourſelves, and be acquainted with his benefactors [t]. They all conſented to the propoſal, and left him with thanks for this mark of confidence. Timagenes, to whom this project of retirement had given ſome uneaſineſs, inquired of him the motive; to which he ſimply anſwered: I am obliged to have my mantle cleaned [u]. And the truth is that he had not a ſecond.

A moment after, Mycithus, a young man to whom he was greatly attached, entered, and ſaid: Diomedon of Cyzicus is arrived, and has addreſſed himſelf to me to be introduced to you. He has ſome propoſitions to make on the part of the king of Perſia, with orders to deliver to you a conſiderable ſum, and has even forced me to accept five talents.—Let him enter, anſwered Epaminondas. "Hear me, Diomedon," ſaid he; "if the views of Artaxerxes be conſiſtent with the intereſts of my country, I ſtand in no need of his preſents: if not, all the gold in his empire would not induce me to betray my duty. You have judged of my heart by your own; I forgive you this miſtake; but depart inſtantly from the city, leſt you ſhould corrupt the inhabitants [x]. And as for you, Mycithus, if you do not this very moment return the money you have received, I ſhall deliver you up to the magiſtracy." We had ſtepped out during this converſation, but Mycithus repeated it to us directly after.

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[t] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.
[u] Ælian. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[x] Nep. in Epam. cap. 4. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 5.

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This lesson Epaminondas had more than once given to those about him. When at the head of the army, having learned that his shield-bearer had sold a captive his liberty: Give me back my buckler, said he to him. Since your hands are soiled with money, you are no longer worthy to follow me in dangers [y].

A zealous disciple of Pythagoras, he imitated his frugality. He denied himself the use of wine, and frequently took no other nutriment but a little honey [z]. Music, which he had been taught by the ablest masters, sometimes constituted the delight of his leisure hours. He excelled on the flute; and at entertainments to which he was invited, sang in his turn, accompanying his voice with the lyre [a].

The more affability he displayed in society, the greater was his severity when it became necessary to maintain the decorum suitable to each condition. One of the lowest of the people, a man abandoned to debauchery, had been detained in prison: Why, said Pelopidas to his friend, did you refuse me his pardon, and grant it to a courtezan? "Because," answered Epaminondas, "it ill becomes a man like you to interest yourself for a man like him [b].

Never did he either court or decline public employments. He more than once served as a common soldier, under inexperienced generals, preferred to him by intrigue. More than once the troops, besieged in their camp, and reduced to the most critical extremities, had recourse to him for assistance. On these occasions, he directed the operations, repulsed the enemy, and brought back the army in safety, without remembering either the injustice he had experienced, or the service he had rendered to his country [c].

He neglected no circumstance that might raise the courage of his nation, and render it formidable to others. Previous

[y] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.
[z] Athen. lib. 10. p. 419.
[a] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 234. Athen. lib. 4. p. 184. Nep. in Epam. 2.
[b] Plut. de Rei Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 808.
[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.

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to his first campaign in Peloponnesus, he prevailed on some Thebans to wrestle with several Lacedæmonians who were then at Thebes. The former having gained the advantage, from that moment his soldiers began no longer to dread the Lacedæmonians[d]. Whilst he was encamped, in winter, in Arcadia, the deputies of one of the adjacent cities proposed to him to enter, and take up his quarters in it. "No," said Epaminondas to his officers; "if they saw us seated by the "fire, they would take us for ordinary men. We will re-"main here, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. When "they see us continue our wrestling matches and military "exercises, they will be lost in astonishment[e]."

Daiphantus and Iollidas, two general officers, who had merited his esteem, said one day to Timagenes, You would admire him still more, had you followed him in his expeditions; had you studied his marches, his encampments, his dispositions before a battle, and his genuine courage and presence of mind in the heat of the conflict; had you beheld him ever active and serene, penetrating at a glance the projects of the enemy; lulling them into a fatal security, multiplying around them almost inevitable ambushes[f], maintaining, at the same time, the most rigid discipline in his army, exciting, by new and efficacious methods, the ardour of his soldiers[g], and unremittingly exerting himself for the preservation, and, above every thing, for their honour.

By such engaging marks of attention, he has completely won their hearts. Even when worn out with fatigue, and tormented by hunger, they are always ready to execute his orders, and rush into the midst of danger[h]. Those panic terrors, so frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; and when they are likely to arise, a single word from him dispels or turns them to his advantage[i]. We were on the point

d Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 6.
e Plut. an Seni, &c. p. 788.
Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3.
f Id. ibid.
g Xenoph. Hist. lib. 7. p. 645.
h Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 367 et 368.
i Polyæn. ibid. § 3 et 8.

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of entering Peloponnesus, and the army of the enemy had encamped in front [k]. Whilst Epaminondas was reconnoitring their position, a clap of thunder caused a great alarm amongst the soldiers; and the augur ordered our march to be suspended. In this moment of dismay, the general was asked what could be the meaning of such a presage. "Why, that the "enemy has chosen a bad camp," cried he with confidence. The courage of the troops revived; and the next day they forced the pass [l].

The two Theban officers related other facts which I suppress; and, omitting several that occurred before my eyes, I shall proceed to this reflection. Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or interested views, raised, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatness which we have seen the Thebans attain. This prodigy he effected, in the first instance, by the influence of his virtues and his talents. While he thus swayed the mind of the public, by the superiority of his genius and information, he guided at will the passions of others, because he remained master of his own. But his success is principally to be imputed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent soul felt an early indignation at the sovereignty assumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, and more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an eternal hatred to these oppressors, which would have remained secluded in his own breast; but no sooner did his country confide to him the avenging of her wrongs, than he broke the chains of nations, and became a conqueror from duty. He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lacedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for such a series of ages. This plan he pursued with perseverance, in despite of their power, their fame, their allies, and even of their enemies, who beheld with a jealous eye the ra-

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.

[l] Polyæn. Stratag. l. 2. c. 3. § 3.

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pid progrefs of the Thebans. Nor did he fuffer his ardour to be checked by the oppofition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace, becaufe Epaminondas was inclined to war [m]. Meneclides was at the head of this faction. His eloquence, his authority, and the fecret charms of tranquillity, fo prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmnefs of Epaminondas finally furmounted all obftacles, and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign. Had not death terminated his career in the midft of a triumph which left the Lacedæmonians without refource, he would have made the Athenians give an account of the victories they had gained over the Greeks, and, as he faid himfelf, have enriched the citadel of Thebes with the monuments which decorated that of Athens [n].

We had frequent opportunities of feeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. This refpectable old man was lefs affected with the homage paid to his own virtues, than with the honours beftowed upon his fon. He more than once reminded us of the tender fentiment expreffed by Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra, amid the acclamations of the army: "What gives me the moft pleafure is, that the authors of my being are yet alive, and will enjoy my glory [o]."

The Thebans had intrufted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas king of Macedon [p]. Pelopidas, having appeafed the troubles of that kingdom, received for hoftages this prince, and thirty young Macedonian noblemen [q]. Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talent with the defire of pleafing. All who faw him admired his beauty [r]; and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and thofe graces which added fo

[m] Nep. in Epam. cap. 5.
[n] Æfchin. de Falf. Leg. p. 411.
[o] Plut. in Coriol. t. i. p. 215.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407.
[q] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 291. Diod. lib. 15. p. 379. Juftin. lib. 7. cap. 5. Orof. l. 3. cap. 12. p. 167.
[r] Æfch. de Falf. Leg. p. 402 et 412.

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many charms to his words [s]. His gaiety sometimes suffered a few sallies to escape him, but these were such as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in discerning merit, no man knew better than he the art and necessity of insinuating himself into the heart [t]. The Pythagorean Nausithous, his preceptor, had instilled into him a taste for literature, which he retained all his life, and gave him lessons of temperance, which he afterwards forgot [u]. The love of pleasure made its appearance amid so many excellent qualities, but without interrupting their application; and it was already foretold, that if this prince should one day mount the throne, he would not be governed entirely either by business or by pleasure.

Philip was assiduously attentive to Epaminondas; in the genius of a great man he studied the secret of one day becoming great [x]; he eagerly collected his observations, as well as his examples; and it was in this excellent school that he learned to moderate and govern his passions [y], to listen to the truth, to correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enslave Greece.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Thebes.—Arrival at Athens.—Inhabitants of Attica.

I HAVE already said, that Timagenes had no relations remaining, but a nephew and a niece, settled at Athens. The name of his nephew was Philotas, and that of his niece Epicharis. She had married a wealthy citizen, named Apollodorus. They came to Thebes a few days after our arrival.

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[s] Id. ibid. p. 401.

[t] Diod. lib. 16. p. 482. Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806.

[u] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. p. 130. Diod. ibid. p. 407. Athen. l. 4. p. 167. lib. 6 p. 260.

[x] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 292.

[y] Plut. Conjug. Præc. t. ii. p. 143; in Apophth. p. 177.

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Temple of Neptune Hippius
Colonos
Road to Thria
House of Plato
Academy
Road to Thebes
Road to Acharnæ
Road to Marathon
Cœle
Ceramicus
Gate Hippades
Gate of Acharnæ
Mount Anchesmus
Lacia
Itonian Gate
Gate
Dipylon
Gate of Melita
Forum
Sacred Gate
Schros
Gate Diomeia
Cynosarges
T. of Theseus
ATHENS
Gate of Diochares
Lycæum
CITADEL
Gate of the Pirœus
Mount Hymettus
the Pirœus
Tomb of Euripedes
Ilissus R.
Phalerum
Echelidæ
Temple of Echelus
English Miles.
1/4
1/2
1
2
ble of Venus Colias
Olympian Stadia.
pel of Ceres
5
10
15
French Toises.
500
1000
1500

T. Cook sc.

Timagenes enjoyed in their ſociety a pleaſure and tranquillity which had long been ſtrangers to his heart. Philotas was of the ſame age with myſelf. I began to form an intimacy with him, and he ſoon became my guide, my companion, my friend, the tendereſt and faithfulleſt of friends.

Before their departure, they made us promiſe ſhortly to pay them a viſit. We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret which he deigned to ſhare, and repaired to Athens on the 16th of the month Anthesterion, in the ſecond year of of the 104th Olympiad *. In the houſe of Apollodorus, we found all the comforts and aſſiſtance to be expected from his opulence and connections.

The next day after my arrival, I flew to the academy, where I ſaw Plato. I went to the work-room of the painter Euphranor. I was in that kind of delirium occaſioned by the firſt ſight of celebrated men, and the pleaſure of approaching them. I next fixed my attention on the city, and for ſome days employed myſelf in admiring its monuments, and in viſiting its environs.

Athens is, as it were, divided into three parts; the citadel, built on a rock; the city, ſituated around this rock [z]; and the harbours of Phalerum, Munichiæ, and the Piræus †.

The firſt inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel [a]. There ſtood the ancient town, which, though, from its ſituation, it was acceſſible only on the ſouth-weſt [b], was every where encompaſſed with walls which are ſtill remaining [c].

The circumference of the modern city is ſixty ſtadia ‡ [d]. The walls flanked with towers [e], and haſtily built in the time

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before J. C.

[z] Ariſtid. Panathen. t. i. p. 99.

† See the plan of the environs of Athens.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 51. Wheeler. Voyag. du Lev. t. ii. p. 415.

[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 137. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 67.

‡ 2¼ leagues.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13. Schol. ibid.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 27.

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of Themiſtocles, exhibit on all ſides fragments of columns and ruins, confuſedly intermingled with the unſhapen materials employed in their conſtruction [f].

From the city run two long walls, one of which, thirty-five ſtadia in length *, terminates at the port of Phalerum; and the other, which is of forty ſtadia †, at that of the Piræus. They are almoſt entirely ſhut in at their extremity by a third of ſixty ſtadia [g]; and as they embrace not only theſe two harbours, and that of Munychiæ, which is in the middle, but a multitude of houſes, temples, and monuments of every kind [h], the entire circumference of the city may be eſtimated at near two hundred ſtadia ‡ [i].

To the ſouth-weſt, and cloſe to the citadel, is the rock of the Muſeum, ſeparated by a little valley from the hill on which the Areopagus holds its aſſemblies. Other eminences contribute to render the ſite of this city extremely uneven. From them proceed ſome feeble ſprings of water, but not ſufficient to ſupply the inhabitants [k]. This deficiency is remedied by wells and ciſterns, in which the water acquires a coolneſs which is anxiouſly ſought [l].

The ſtreets in general are deſtitute of regularity. The greater number of the houſes are ſmall and incommodious [m]. As for thoſe which are more magnificent, you can hardly get a glimpſe of their decorations, acroſs a court, or rather a long and narrow avenue [n]. Externally, every thing has the air of ſimplicity, and ſtrangers at firſt ſight ſeek in Athens itſelf for that city, ſo celebrated through the world [o]; but their admiration imperceptibly increaſes, when they attentively examine thoſe temples, thoſe porticos and public buildings, in

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f Id. lib. 1. cap. 93.
* $1\frac{1}{3}$ league.
† $1\frac{1}{2}$ league.
g Id. lib. 2. cap. 13.
h Id. lib. 2. cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 1 et 2.
‡ Above 7 leagues and a half.
i Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 6. p. 87.
k Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 203. Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.
l Theoph. Char. cap. 20.
m Dicæarch. p. 8.
n Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 435. Didym. ib. Heſych. in Ἐνωπή. Vitruv. lib. 6. cap. 10.
o Dicæarch. p. 8.

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T. Cook sc.

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the embellſhment of which all the arts have contended for the prize.

The Iliſſus and the Cephiſus meander around the city, and ſeveral public walks are laid out at no great diſtance from their banks. Further on, hills covered with olives, laurels, and vines, terminating in lofty mountains, form, as it were, a zone around the plain, which, to the ſouthward, is bounded only by the ſea.

Attica is a kind of peninſula of a triangular form. The coaſt oppoſite to the Argolis may extend in a right line about 357 ſtadia *; that which borders on Bœotia, 235 †; and that which looks towards Eubœa, 406 ‡. It contains 53,200 ſquare ſtadia §, without including the iſle of Salamis, which contains no more than 2,925 ſquare ſtadia ||.

This little country, every where interſected with rocks and mountains, is by nature extremely barren, and it is by dint of cultivation alone that it repays the huſbandman for his labours; but laws, induſtry, and the remarkable purity of the air, have been ſo favourable to population, that Attica is at this day covered with villages and towns, of which Athens is the capital ¶.

The inhabitants of Attica are divided into three claſſes. The firſt comprehends the citizens; the ſecond, the foreigners ſettled in the country; and the third, the ſlaves.

The ſlaves are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the natives of Greece, and thoſe brought from foreign countries. The former conſiſt in general of thoſe whom the fate of arms has thrown into the hands of a conqueror irritated by too obſtinate a reſiſtance [p]. The latter are brought from Thrace, Phrygia, Caria **, and the countries inhabited by barbarians [q].

* About 13 leagues and a half.
† Near 9 leagues.
‡ 15½ leagues.
§ 76 ſquare leagues.
|| About 4 ſquare leagues.
¶ See the map of Attica.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 68.
** The foreign ſlaves were diſtinguiſhed among the Greeks by the name of their reſpective nations; one was called *Carian*, another *Thrace*, &c.
[q] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 675.

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Slaves of every age, sex, and nation, form a considerable object of traffic throughout Greece. Merchants, eager after gain, are perpetually transporting them from one country to another. They heap them together like the vilest merchandize in the market-place; and when a purchaser appears, oblige them to dance a round, to enable him to judge of their powers and agility [r]. The price they fetch varies according to their talents. Some are valued at three hundred drachmas *, others at six hundred †[s]. Several sell for much more. The Greeks who fall into the hands of pirates, are exposed to sale in the Grecian cities, and forfeit their freedom till they are able to pay a heavy ransom [t]. Both Plato and Diogenes experienced this misfortune. The friends of the former paid three thousand drachmas to redeem him ‡ [u]. The latter remained in bondage, and taught the children of his master to be free and virtuous [x].

Throughout almost all Greece the number of slaves infinitely surpasses that of the citizens [y]. Almost every where the utmost exertions are obliged continually to be made to keep them in subjection [z]. Lacedæmon, by having recourse to rigorous measures to force them to obedience, has often driven them to revolt. Athens, wishing to secure their fidelity by gentler methods, has made them insolent [a].

It is estimated that there are about four hundred thousand slaves in Attica [b]. These cultivate the lands, conduct the manufactures, work the mines, labour at the quarries, and perform all the domestic offices in private houses: for the law prohibits the maintenance of idle slaves; and those who, born in a servile condition, are unable to apply themselves to laborious occupations, endeavour to become useful by their

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[r] Menand. ap. Harpocrat. in Κύκλοι.
* 270 livres (11l. 5s.)
† 540 livres (22l. 10s.)
[s] Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896.
[t] Andoc. de Myster. p. 18. Terent. Eunuch. act. 1. scen. 2.
‡ 2700 livres (112l. 10s.)
[u] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 20.
[x] Id. lib 6. § 29.
[y] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[b] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.

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addreſs, their talents, or application to the arts [c]. Some manufacturers employ upwards of fifty [d], and derive from them a conſiderable profit. In ſome of theſe works, one ſlave will give a clear annual produce of a hundred * [e], and in others of a hundred and twenty drachmas † [f].

Some there are who have merited their liberty by fighting for the republic [g], or by exhibiting ſuch proofs of zeal and attachment to their maſters as are ſtill celebrated as examples for the reſt [h]. When they are unable to obtain it by ſervices, they purchaſe it with a *peculium*, or private property they are permitted to amaſs [i], and which they employ in preſents to their maſters, on feſtive occaſions; as, for inſtance, when a child is born, or a marriage takes place in the family [k].

When eſſentially deficient in their duties, their maſters may load them with chains [l], condemn them to turn the millſtone [m], prevent them from marrying, or ſeparate them from their wives [n]; but on no account may they attempt their lives. When treated with cruelty, they are driven to deſertion, or to ſeek an aſylum at leaſt in the temple of Theſeus [o]. In this caſe, they require to be transferred to the ſervice of another leſs rigorous maſter [p], and ſometimes are ſo fortunate as to be able to withdraw themſelves from the yoke of the tyrant who oppreſſed them [q].

Thus have the laws provided for their ſafety; but when they are intelligent, or poſſeſſed of pleaſing talents, intereſt proves a more powerful protector than the laws. With ſuch endowments they enrich their maſters, and themſelves by retaining part of their earnings. Theſe profits accumulated,

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[c] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 683.
[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 578. Demoſth. in Aphob. t. p. 896.
* 90 livres (3l. 15s.)
[e] Demoſth. ibid.
† 108 livres (4l. 10s.)
[f] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 275.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 705.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.
[i] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 15. p. 241.
[k] Terent. Phorm. act. 1. ſcen. 1.
[l] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.
[m] Terent. And. act. 1. ſcen. 3.
[n] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 844.
[o] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 12. p. 694.
[p] Plut. de Superſt. t. ii. p. 166.
[q] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 611. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 178. Athen. lib. 6. p. 266 et 267.

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enable them to procure patrons, to live in the moſt unbecoming luxury, and to unite the inſolence of arrogant pretenſions with ſordidneſs of ſentiment [r].

Severe penalties are denounced againſt any man who ſhall ſtrike the ſlave of another, every act of violence being a crime againſt the ſtate [s]; and the ſlave being ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the free man by any external mark [*], the outrage, but for this law, might fall on the citizen, whoſe perſon ſhould be ſacred [t].

When a ſlave is enfranchiſed, he does not paſs into the claſs of citizens, but into that of the foreign ſettlers, which is connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the ſlaves by the ſmall portion of reſpect or influence it poſſeſſes in the ſtate.

This intermediate claſs, to the number of about ten thouſand [u], conſiſts of ſtrangers ſettled with their families in Attica [x], moſt of them exerciſing trades, or ſerving in the navy [y]; protected by, without participating in, the government; free, yet dependent; uſeful to the republic which fears them, becauſe ſhe dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and deſpiſed by a people at once proud and jealous of the diſtinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen [z].

They are obliged to ſelect from among the citizens, a patron to be reſponſible for their conduct [a], and to pay an annual tribute to the public treaſury of twelve drachmas † for the heads of families, and ſix drachmas ‡ for their children [b]. Their property is forfeited when they neglect complying with the former of theſe conditions, and their liberty when they

[r] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[s] Demoſth. in Mid. p 610.

[*] The ſlaves were obliged to ſhave their heads (Ariſtoph. in Av. 912. Schol. ibid.); but they covered them with bonnets (Id. in Veſp 443). Their dreſs ſhould reach only to the knee, (Id. in Lyſiſ. 1153. Schol. ibid.); but many citizens wore garments of the ſame kind.

[t] Xenoph. ibid.

[u] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.

[x] Harpocr. in Μέτοικοι.

[y] Xenoph. de Rep Athen. p. 693.

[z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 1.

[a] Harpoc. et Suid. in Προστάτης. Hyper. ap. Harpoc. in Ἄνωρος.

† 10 livres 16 ſols (9 ſhillings.)

‡ 5 livres 8 ſols (4 ſhillings and ſixpence.

[b] Iſæus apud Harpocr. in Μέτοικοι. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 4. § 55.

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violate the latter [c]; but if they are fortunate enough to render any signal services to the state, they obtain an exemption from the tribute [d].

In religious ceremonies they are distinguished from the citizens by particular functions. The men must carry part of the offerings, and their wives hold umbrellas over the free women [e]; they are exposed likewise to the insults of the people, and to degrading sallies of raillery from the stage [f].

The republic has been known to adopt a great number of them into the class of citizens, when exhausted by long wars [g]. But if by any clandestine practices they contrive to procure admission into that respectable order, they are liable to a judicial prosecution, and sometimes even to be sold for slaves [h].

The freed men, admitted into this class, are subject to the same tribute, the same dependence, and the same humiliations. Those who are born in servitude, never can become citizens [i]; and every patron, able in a regular course of justice to convict the slave he had enfranchised of ingratitude, is authorized instantly to load him anew with chains, saying to him: Be a slave, since thou knowest not how to live free [k].

The condition of the intermediate class begins to be more favourable [l]. For some time past they have been less insulted, but they are not therefore better satisfied with their lot; for having obtained respect, they are now looking for distinctions, it being a painful situation to remain entirely without authority or influence in a city containing so many persons of importance.

Here is a citizen by birth, who is born of a father and mother who are themselves citizens [m]; but the child of an Athenian, who marries a foreign woman, is entitled only to the

[c] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 172.
[d] Id. p. 169.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. Periz. ibid. Harpocr. in Μέτοικ. et in Σκαφ. Suid. et Hesych. in Σκαφ.
[f] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 507.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 216.
[h] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att p. 134.
[i] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 15. p. 239.
[k] Val. Maxim. lib. 2. cap. 6.
[l] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[m] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 138.

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condition of his mother. This law was made by Pericles at a time when he was surrounded by children likely to perpetuate his family; and he carried it into execution with so much rigour, that near five thousand persons, excluded from the rank of citizens, were publicly sold by auction. He violated it when he had only one son left, whose birth he had formerly declared illegitimate [n].

The citizens by adoption enjoy almost the same privileges as the natives. At first, when it was necessary to encourage the population of Attica, the title of citizen was bestowed on every person who came to settle in that country [o]. When that necessity ceased, Solon granted it only to those who should bring with them their families, or to persons who, exiled for ever from their country, came thither in search of a secure asylum [p]. At length it was promised to those who should render services to the state [q]; and as nothing can be more honourable than to excite the gratitude of an enlightened nation, no sooner was this privilege offered as the reward of merit, than it became the object of the ambition even of sovereigns, who reflected new lustre on it when they succeeded, and still greater when they were unable to obtain the distinction. It was formerly refused to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, who was worthy of the honour [r]; and since granted with more facility [s] to Evagoras king of Cyprus, Dionysius king of Syracuse, and other princes. It was ardently sought after so long as the Athenians rigorously observed the laws to prevent its being too easily obtained: for by these laws it is not sufficient that the candidate be adopted by a decree of the people; this decree must be confirmed by an assembly in which six thousand citizens gave their suffrages by ballot;

[n] Plut. in Pericl. p. 172. Ælian. lib. 6. cap. 10. lib. 13. cap. 24. Suid. in Δημεων. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 2. Schol. ibid.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

[q] Demosth. in Neær. p. 861.

[r] Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Meurs. de Fort. Athen. p. 1702.

[s] Epist. Phil. ad Athen. in Oper. Demosth. p. 115. Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 97.

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and this double election may be objected to by the lowest of the Athenians, and undergo the examination of a tribunal empowered to correct even the judgment of the people [t].

These precautions, of late too much neglected, have not prevented persons from attaining the rank of citizens, who have been a disgrace to the title [u], and whose example will eventually justify still more dishonourable elections.

Among the citizens of Athens, it is estimated that there are twenty thousand men able to bear arms [x].

All those who are distinguished by their wealth, birth, virtues, or knowledge [y], form here, as in almost every country, the principal class of citizens, who may be called the higher class.

This comprises men of fortune, because they support the burdens of the state; and the virtuous and enlightened, because they chiefly contribute to its preservation and glory. As for birth, it is respected, from a presumption that it transmits from father to son more noble sentiments, and a more ardent patriotism than can be found in vulgar minds [z].

Particular regard, therefore, is paid to families which claim their descent from the gods, the kings of Athens, or the ancient heroes of Greece; and still more to the families whose founders have displayed examples of distinguished virtue, filled the chief offices of magistracy, gained battles, or obtained crowns in the public games [a].

Some trace back their origin to the remotest ages. For more than one thousand years past the house of the Eumolpidæ has been in possession of the priesthood of Ceres Eleu-

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[t] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875.

[u] Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 126.

[x] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philochor. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Id. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716. Ctesicl. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 272.

[y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 368. Herald. Animadv. in Salm. Observ. lib. 3. p. 252.

[z] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 353. Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

[a] Plat. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 88. Arist. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 522.

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finia [b], and that of the Eteobutadæ of the priesthood of Minerva [c]; others have as extensive pretensions, and to give weight to them invent genealogies [d], which few take the trouble to invalidate. For this higher class form no distinct body; they enjoy no peculiar privilege nor precedency; but their education gives them a claim to the first places, and the public opinion facilitates their attaining them.

The city of Athens contains, exclusive of the slaves, upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants [e].

CHAP. VII.

Meeting of the Academy.

I HAD now been some days at Athens, and had taken a rapid view of the curiosities it contains. When this ardour was somewhat abated, Apollodorus, my host, proposed to me to pay another visit to the academy *.

We crossed a quarter of the city called the Ceramicus, or Tile Grounds, and thence, going out by the gate Dipylon, we came into fields called likewise Ceramicus [f], and observed, as we went along, a number of tombs [g]; for no person is allowed to be buried in the city [h]. The citizens in general have their places of sepulture at their country houses [i], or in quarters allotted them without the walls. The Ceramicus is set apart for those who have fallen in battle [k]. Among these tombs, we see those of Pericles and some other Athenians who did not die in arms, but whom their country has thought deserving of the most distinguished honours [l].

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[b] Hesych. in Εὐμολπω.
[c] Id. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐτεοβ.
[d] Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 284.
[e] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 1124.
* See the plan of the academy.
[f] Meurs. Ceram. Gem. cap. 19.
[g] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 29. p. 70.
[h] Cicer. Epist. ad Fam. lib. 4. epist. 12. t. vii. p. 139.
[i] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1040. et Callicl. p. 1117.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 34.
[l] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 29. p. 71.

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The academy is only at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia [*] [m] from the city. It is a large encloſure of ground, formerly the property of a citizen of Athens named Academus [n]. At preſent it contains a gymnaſium, and a garden ſurrounded by walls [o], adorned with delightful covered walks [p], and embelliſhed by waters which flow under the ſhade of the plane and various other kinds of trees [q]. At the entrance is the altar of Love, and the ſtatue of that god [r]; and within, the altars of ſeveral other deities. Not far from hence Plato has fixed his reſidence, near a ſmall temple, which he has dedicated to the Muſes, and on a piece of ground belonging to himſelf [s]. He comes every day to the academy, where we found him in the midſt of his diſciples, and I inſtantly felt myſelf inſpired with that reſpect which every one muſt feel in his preſence [t].

Though about ſixty-eight years old, he ſtill retained a freſh and animated complexion. Nature had beſtowed on him a robuſt body. His long voyages had impaired his health; but this he had reſtored by a ſtrict attention to regimen [u]: and he was no otherwiſe affected than by a habit of melancholy; a habit common to him with Socrates, Empedocles, and other illuſtrious men [x].

He had regular features, a ſerious air [y], eyes full of mildneſs [z], an open forehead without hair [a], a wide cheſt, high ſhoulders [b], great dignity in his demeanour, gravity in his gait, and modeſty in the whole of his appearance [c].

He received me with as much ſimplicity as politeneſs, and pronounced ſo handſome an eulogium on the philoſopher A-

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[*] A quarter of a league.

[m] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 196.

[n] Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀκαδ.

[o] Suid. in ἐν Ἰππάρχ.

[p] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[q] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1001.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 30.

[s] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 693. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 5 et 20. Id. in Speuſ. lib. 4. cap. 8. § 1.

[t] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[u] Senec. epiſt. 58.

[x] Ariſt. Probl. § 30. t. ii. p. 815. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.

[y] Laert. lib. 3. § 28.

[z] Ælian. ibid.

[a] Nearth. ap. Laert. lib. 3. § 4.

[b] Suid. in Πλάτ. Senec. epiſt. 58.

[c] Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 19. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 361.

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nacharsis, whose descendant I am, that I blushed at bearing the same name. He expressed himself slowly [d], but the graces and persuasion seemed to flow from his lips. As I became afterwards more particularly acquainted with him, his name will often appear in my narrative. I shall only here add a few particulars which I now learned from Apollodorus.

The mother of Plato, said he, was of the same family with Solon, our legislator, and his father derived his descent from Codrus, the last of our kings [e], who died about seven hundred years ago. In his youth, painting, music, and the various exercises of the gymnasium, employed the whole of his time [f]. As he was born with a vigorous and brilliant imagination, he composed dithyrambics, tried his powers in epic poetry, compared his verses to those of Homer, and burnt them * [g]. Imagining that the theatre might indemnify him for this sacrifice, he wrote some tragedies; but, whilst the actors were preparing them for representation, he became acquainted with Socrates, suppressed his pieces, and devoted himself entirely to the study of philosophy [h].

He now felt an ardent desire to make himself useful to mankind [i]. The Peloponnesian war had destroyed every principle of virtue, and corrupted the public manners. The glory of restoring them excited his ambition. Agitated night and day by this sublime idea, he waited with patience for the moment, when, invested with the functions of magistracy, he should have it in his power to display his zeal and talents; but the rude shocks the republic had met with in the latter years of the war, those frequent revolutions which in so short a time exhibited tyranny under forms daily more ter-

d Laert. lib. 3. § 5.
e Id. ibid. § 1. Suid. in Πλάτ.
f Id. ibid. § 4 et 5.
* While throwing them into the fire, he parodied this verse of Homer:
"*Vulcan, draw near. 'tis Thetis asks your aid:*"
Varying it thus:
"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Plato asks your aid.*"
Hom. Iliad. 18. v. 392. Eustath. t. ii. p. 1149. Laert. lib. 3. § 4 et 5.
g Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 30.
h Laert. lib. 3. § 5.
i Plat. epist. 7. t. iii. p. 324.

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rific, the death of Socrates, his master and his friend, and the reflections that such a series of events gave rise to in his mind, soon convinced him that all governments labour under incurable disorders; that the affairs of mortals, if we may so speak, are desperate; and that they will never know happiness till philosophy shall take them under her guidance [k]. Abandoning, therefore, his project, he resolved to increase his stock of knowledge, and to dedicate his acquirements to the instruction of his country. With this view he travelled to Megara, into Italy, Cyrenâica, and Egypt, and wherever the human mind had made any progress in improvement [l].

He was about forty years of age [m] when he undertook his voyage to Sicily, to visit mount Ætna [n]. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was desirous of discoursing with him. The conversation turned on happiness, justice, and real greatness. Plato having maintained that no human being could be so abject and wretched as an unjust prince, Dionysius exclaimed in a rage, "You speak like a dotard."—"And you like a tyrant," answered Plato. This retort had nearly cost him his life. Dionysius would not suffer him to go on board a galley returning into Greece, until he had made the captain promise to throw him into the sea, or sell him for a slave. He was sold, ransomed, and brought back to his country. Some time after, the king of Syracuse, incapable of remorse, but desirous not to lose the good opinion of the Greeks, wrote to him, and having requested him to spare him in his discourses, received only this contemptuous answer: "I have not leisure to remember Dionysius [o]."

On his return, Plato entered on a mode of life from which he has never deviated. He has persisted in abstaining from all public affairs, because, according to him, we are no longer ca-

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k Plat. epist. 7. t. iii. p. 326.

l Id. ibid. Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. ii. p. 228. Laert. lib. 3. § 6. Quint. lib. 1. cap. 12 p. 81.

m Plat. ibid. p. 324.

n Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 959. Laert. lib. 3. § 18.

o Laert. lib. 3. § 19 et 21.

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pable of being conducted to good, either by persuasion or by force [p]; but collecting the scattered rays of knowledge, which he found in the countries he has visited, and reconciling, as far as is practicable, the opinions of preceding philosophers, he has composed a system which he explains in his writings and his conferences. His works are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal interlocutor; and it is alleged, that, under the sanction of his name, he has given the world many ideas which he himself has conceived or adopted [q].

His merit has created him enemies, and he has drawn others upon himself by the poignant irony scattered through his productions against several celebrated authors [r]. He puts it, it is true, into the mouth of Socrates; but the address with which he handles it, and different anecdotes of him which might be adduced, prove, that, in his youth at least, he had no small propensity to satire [s]. His enemies, however, do not disturb that tranquillity which his successes or his virtues maintain within his heart. For he really possesses virtues, some which he has received from nature, and others that he has had the courage to acquire. He was born impetuous; at present he is the mildest and most patient of men [t]. The love of glory or celebrity seems to me his predominant, or rather his only passion; and I am apt to think, that he experiences that jealousy of which he is himself so frequently the object [u]. Difficult and reserved towards those who press forward in the same track, open and communicative to those whom he himself conducts, he has lived with the other disciples of Socrates on terms of restraint or enmity [x]; but with his own in the utmost familiarity and confidence, unremittingly attentive to their progress, as well as to their deficiencies, without weakness and without austerity, directing their pro-

[p] Cicer. Epist. ad Famil. lib. 1. epist. 9. t. vii.
[q] Senec. epist. 6. Laert. l. 3. c. 35.
[r] Athen. lib. 11. p. 505.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3. p. 114. Plut. t. ii. p. 10 et 551. Athen. lib. 2. p 59.
[u] Athen. lib. 11. p. 506.
[x] Laert. lib. 3. cap. 34, &c.

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penſities towards worthy objects [y], and correcting them by his example, rather than by his precepts [z]. On their ſide, his diſciples carry reſpect even to idolatry, and their admiration to fanaticiſm. Nay, you will ſee ſome of them affect high and round ſhoulders, that they may have ſome reſemblance to their maſter [a]: like the courtiers in Ethiopia, who, when the ſovereign has ſome defect in his perſon, ſcruple not to mutilate themſelves, to have the honour of ſimilitude [b]. Such are the leading features of his life and character. You will hereafter be better able to judge of his doctrine, his eloquence, and his daring and eccentric flights.

Apollodorus, as he concluded, perceived that I was looking with ſurpriſe at a tolerably handſome woman, who had introduced herſelf among the diſciples of Plato. Her name is Laſthenia, ſaid he; ſhe is a courteſan of Mantinea in Arcadia [c]; the love of philoſophy firſt brought her to this place; but ſhe is ſuſpected of being retained here by a paſſion for Speuſippus, Plato's nephew, who is ſitting by her [d]. He made me, at the ſame time, remark a young Arcadian girl, named Axiothea, who, after reading one of the dialogues of Plato, had quitted every thing, even to her female dreſs, to come and attend the lectures of this philoſopher [e]. He named other women to me, who had done the ſame by means of a ſimilar diſguiſe [f].

And who is that meagre, lank young man, ſaid I, near Plato, who liſps, and whoſe little eyes are full of fire [g]? That, replied he, is Ariſtotle of Stagira, ſon of Nicomachus the phyſician, and friend of Amyntas king of Macedon [h]. Nicomachus left a conſiderable fortune to his ſon [i], who came

[y] Plut. de Sanit. Tuend. t. ii. p. 135.
[z] Id. de Adulat. t. ii. p. 71.
[a] Id. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 26. et de Adulat. p. 53.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p 146.
[c] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 46; in Speuſipp. lib. 4, § 2.
[d] Athen. l. 7. p. 279. l. 12. p. 546.
[e] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. cap. 46. Themiſt. orat. 23. p. 295.
[f] Menag in Laert. p. 155.
[g] Laert in Ariſt. lib. 5. § 1. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii, p. 26.
[h] Suid. in Νικόμ.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 9.

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to ſettle among us about five years ago, being then about ſeventeen or eighteen [k]. I know no perſon with ſo powerful an underſtanding, or more aſſiduous in his application. Plato diſtinguiſhes him from his other diſciples, and finds nothing to cenſure in him but too much attention to dreſs [l].

He whom you ſee near Ariſtotle, continued Apollodorus, is Xenocrates of Chalcedon, a heavy genius, and deſtitute of every thing pleaſing in his manner. Plato frequently exhorts him to ſacrifice to the graces. Of him and Ariſtotle he ſays, that the one has need of the rein, and the other of the ſpur [m]. Plato was one day informed that Xenocrates had ſpoken ill of him. I do not believe it, ſaid he. The perſon inſiſted on the truth of what he had affirmed, but he would not be convinced; proofs were offered: "No," replied he, "it is impoſſible that I ſhould not be beloved by one whom I love ſo affectionately [n]."

What is the name, ſaid I, of that other young man, who appears to be of ſo delicate a conſtitution, and who now and then ſhrugs up his ſhoulders [o]? That is Demoſthenes, ſaid Apollodorus. He is of a good family; his father, whom he loſt when ſeven years old, employed a conſiderable number of ſlaves in the manufacturing of ſwords, and furniture of different kinds [p]. He has juſt gained a law-ſuit againſt his guardians, who attempted to defraud him of part of his property, and pleaded his own cauſe, though he is ſcarcely ſeventeen [q]. His companions, jealous no doubt of his ſucceſs, give him the nickname of ſerpent [r], and laviſh other diſgraceful epithets on him, which he ſeems to draw upon himſelf by the harſhneſs that he manifeſts towards others [s]. He intends to devote himſelf to the bar, and with this view frequents the ſchool of

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[k] Apoll. ap. Laert. lib 5. cap. 9. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 728.

[l] Laert. lib. 5. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 19

[m] Id. in Xenocr. lib 4. § 6.

[n] Val. Max. lib. 4. in extern. cap. 1.

[o] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.

[p] Demoſth in Aphob. 1. p. 896.

[q] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1. p. 895; et in Onetor. p. 921.

[r] Suid. in Δημ. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 280. et de Falſ. Leg. p. 410.

[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.

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Iæus, rather than that of Isocrates, the eloquence of the former appearing to him more nervous than that of the latter. Nature has given him a feeble voice, a difficult respiration, and a disagreeable mode of utterance [t]; but she has endowed him with one of those determined minds which are only stimulated by obstacles. His object in frequenting this place is at once to acquire the principles of philosophy, and to improve himself in eloquence [u].

The three pupils you see near Demosthenes are attracted by the same motive. The one is named Æschinus; that young man who appears so florid and healthy [x]. Born in an obscure condition, he exercised, in his childhood, not very honourable functions [y]; and, possessing a fine and sonorous voice, was next brought upon the stage, where he appeared, however, only in subordinate characters [z]. His mind is not destitute of graces, and he cultivates poetry with some success [a]. The name of the second is Hyperides [b]. And that of the third, Lycurgus. The latter is of one of the most ancient families of the republic [c].

All those whom Apollodorus had named to me have since distinguished themselves; some by their eloquence, others by their conduct, and almost all of them by a determined hatred of servitude. I saw many foreigners likewise, who listened with the deepest attention to the maxims of Plato concerning justice and liberty; but who, after displaying some virtues on their return, either attempted to enslave, or actually succeeded in imposing chains upon their country [d]; tyrants the more dangerous, as they were educated in the detestation of tyranny.

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[t] Id. ibid. p. 844.
[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 20. t. i. p. 149. Id. in Brut. cap. 31. t. i. p. 363. Id. Orat. cap. 4. p. 423.
[x] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 840.
[y] Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 323. &c. Id. de Coronâ, p. 515 et 516.
[z] Vit Æschin. p. 41. Plut. ibid.
[a] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 281.
[b] Plut. ibid. 848.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 841.
[d] Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 508.

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Sometimes Plato would read his works to his disciples [e]; at others he proposed a question to them, allowing them time to meditate, and accustomed them to define with accuracy the ideas they annexed to words [f]. He usually gave his lessons in the walks of the academy [g]; for he held walking to be more conducive to health than the violent exercises of the gymnasium [h]. His former scholars, his friends, nay, even his enemies, often came to hear him, and others were attracted by the natural beauties of the place.

I saw a man arrive there, about five and forty [i], without shoes [k] or tunic, with a long beard, a staff in his hand, a wallet over his shoulders, and a cloak [l], under which he held a live cock stripped of its feathers. This he threw into the middle of the assembly, saying, "Behold the man of Plato [m]," and instantly disappeared. Plato smiled [n]. His disciples murmured. Apollodorus said to me: Plato had defined man to be a two-footed animal without feathers; and Diogenes has taken this method to ridicule the definition as inaccurate. I took this stranger, said I, for one of those importunate beggars to be met with in every opulent and polished nation. He does indeed beg sometimes, answered my companion, but not always from want. Observing my surprise increase, Let us sit down said he, under this plane tree; I will give you his history in a few words, and make you acquainted with some celebrated Athenians whom I see in the adjoining walks. We sat down facing a tower, named after Timon the misanthropist [o], and a rising ground, covered with verdure and houses, called Colonos [p].

About the time that Plato opened his school at the academy, resumed Apollodorus, Antisthenes, another disciple

[e] Laert. lib. 3. § 37.
[f] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 59.
[g] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 27. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 19.
[h] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 227.
[i] Laert. lib. 6. § 76 et 79.
[k] Dion. Chrisost. orat. 6. p. 89.
[l] Laert. ibid. § 22 et 23.
[m] Id. ibid. § 40.
[n] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 59.
[o] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30.
[p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 197.

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of Socrates eſtabliſhed one likewiſe, on an eminence ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the city [q]. This philoſopher laboured, during his youth, to make an external diſplay of the moſt rigid virtue; and Socrates, penetrating his intentions, one day ſaid to him, Antiſthenes, I ſee your vanity through the rents in your garment [r]. His maſter had taught him that happineſs conſiſts in virtue; and he made virtue conſiſt in a contempt of riches and enjoyments [s]; and, to enforce his maxims, appeared in public, with a ſtaff, and wallet over his ſhoulders, like one of thoſe unhappy mendicants who expoſe their wretchedneſs to paſſengers [t]. The ſingularity of this ſight procured him diſciples, who remained attached to him for ſome time by his eloquence [u]. But the auſterities he preſcribed made them gradually diſappear, and, diſguſted at this deſertion, he ſhut up his ſchool [x].

Diogenes now made his appearance in this city. He had been baniſhed from Sinope, his native country, with his father, accuſed of diminiſhing the coin [y]. After a long reſiſtance [z], Antiſthenes imparted to him his principles, and Diogenes preſently gave them a greater extent. Antiſthenes ſought to correct the paſſions, Diogenes to deſtroy them. The wiſe man, to become happy, ſhould, according to him, render himſelf independent of fortune, of mankind, and of himſelf; of fortune, by braving alike her favours and caprices; of men, by diveſting himſelf of prejudices, and deſpiſing cuſtoms, and even laws, when not conformable to his underſtanding; of himſelf, by labouring to fortify his body againſt the rigour of the ſeaſons, and his mind againſt the allurements of pleaſure. He ſometimes ſays, "I am poor, a vagabond, without country, without aſylum, and compelled to live as I can from one day to another; but I oppoſe cou-

[q] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 13.
[r] Id. ibid. § 8.
[s] Id. ibid. § 3.
[t] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 13.
[u] Id. ibid. § 14.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 16.
[y] Laert. in Diog. lib. 6. § 20.
[z] Id. ibid. § 21. Ælian. ibid.

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rage to fortune, nature to the laws, and reason to the passions [a]." From these principles, which, in their respective consequences, may lead men to the summit of perfection, or plunge them into every species of disorder *, results a contempt for riches, honours, glory, the distinction of ranks, the decorum of society, the arts and sciences, and all the comforts and embellishments of life [b]. The man, created in the imagination of Diogenes, and whom he sometimes goes in search of with a lantern [c]; that being, foreign to every surrounding object, and inaccessible to every thing that gratifies the senses, who styles himself a citizen of the world, though he claims not that relation to his native land; that man would be as wretched as unprofitable in polished societies, and never did exist even prior to their origin. Diogenes imagines he can discover some faint resemblance of him among the Spartans: "I have found men no where," said he, "but I have seen children at Lacedæmon [d]."

To represent in his own person the man of his idea, he has undergone the rudest trials, and emancipated himself from every species of constraint. You will see him struggling against hunger, appeasing it with the grossest aliments, refusing to gratify it at entertainments, where the table is covered with abundance; stretching out his hand for alms to passengers [e]; at night, shutting himself up in a tub; exposing his body to the injuries of the weather, under the portico of a temple [f]; rolling himself in summer on the burning sand, and in winter walking, with naked feet, amid the snow [g]; satisfying all the wants of nature in public, and in places frequented by the dregs of the people [h]; courageously braving

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 38. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 29.

* Antisthenes and Diogenes were the founders of the Cynic school, and this school gave rise to that of the Stoics. Cicer. de Orator. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. i. p. 295.

[b] Laert. lib. 6. § 28. 71. 72 et 73.

[c] Id. ibid. § 41.

[d] Id. ibid. § 27.

[e] Id. ibid. § 67.

[f] Id. ibid. § 22 et 23.

[g] Id. ibid. § 23 et 34.

[h] Id. ibid. § 22 et 66. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 19.

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and ſupporting ridicule, inſults and injuſtice; acting in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, even in things the moſt indifferent; and daily exhibiting ſcenes which, whilſt they excite the contempt of ſenſible men, reveal but too plainly to their eyes the ſecret motives that influence his conduct. I one day ſaw him, during a ſevere froſt, embracing, half naked, a brazen ſtatue. A Lacedæmonian aſked him if he ſuffered pain. No, ſaid the philoſopher. What merit is there then in what you do? replied the Lacedæmonian [i].

Diogenes poſſeſſes depth of underſtanding, firmneſs of mind, and livelineſs of character. He delivers his doctrines with ſuch perſpicuity, and explains them with ſo much energy, that ſtrangers have been ſeen to liſten to him, and inſtantly abandon all to follow him [k]. Believing himſelf deſtined to reform mankind, he treats them without the ſmalleſt deference. His ſyſtem leads him to inveigh againſt vices and and abuſes, and his character unrelentingly to purſue thoſe who are guilty of them. He never ceaſes to attack them with the weapons of ſatire, and an irony a thouſand times more formidable. The freedom that reigns in his diſcourſes renders him agreeable to the people [l]. He is admitted into good company, which he ſerves to enliven by ready repartees [m], ſometimes happily hit off, and at all times frequent; for he heſitates at nothing. Young people court his company, to make trials of pleaſantry, and avenge themſelves of his ſuperiority by inſults [n], which he ſupports with the moſt mortifying tranquillity. I have often ſeen him reproach them with expreſſions and actions that put modeſty to the bluſh [o], which inclines me to believe that he has never himſelf been guilty of thoſe exceſſes his enemies impute to him [p]. His indecency lies rather in the manner than in the thing really offenſive to

i Plut. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 233.
k Laert. lib. 6. § 75.
l Id. ibid. § 43.
m Id. ibid. § 74.
n Id. ibid. § 33 et 41.
o Id. ibid. § 46, 47, 65, 66, &c.
p Plut. de Stoic. p. 1044. Laert. ibid. § 46 et 69.

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good morals [q]. Eminent talents, great virtues, and prodigious efforts, will never make more of him than a singular man; and I shall always subscribe to the judgment of Plato, who said of him, "He is Socrates in a phrenzy [r]."

At this moment we saw a man pass, who was walking slowly at a small distance from us. He appeared to be about forty, and had a melancholy and pensive air, with his hand in his mantle [s]. Though his external appearance was extremely simple, Apollodorus flew to accost him with a respect mingled with admiration and sensibility; and returning to sit down by me, That, said he, is Phocion, a name that should for ever awaken in your mind the idea of integrity itself [t]. His birth is obscure [u], but his soul is truly sublime. He early frequented the academy [x], where he imbibed those sublime principles which have since guided his conduct; principles engraven on his heart, and as immutable as that truth and justice from which they are derived.

On leaving the academy, he served under Chabrias, whose impetuosity he moderated, and who was in a great measure indebted to him for his victory at Naxos [y]. He has also found other opportunities to prove he possesses great military talents. In peace he cultivates a little farm [z], that would scarcely supply the wants of a man the most moderate in his desires, but which furnishes Phocion with a superfluity, with which he alleviates the wants of others [a]. He lives there with a spouse worthy of his love, because she merits his esteem; he lives there contented with his lot, neither ashamed nor vain of his poverty, courting no public employments [b], but accepting them to discharge their duties.

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[q] Bruck. Hist Philos. t. i. p. 881.
[r] Ælian. lib. 14. cap. 33.
[s] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.
[t] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 47. lib. 4. cap. 16. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1131.
[u] Ælian. lib. 12. cap. 43.
[x] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.
[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744.
[z] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1.
[a] Suid. in Φωκ
[b] Plut. ibid. 745.

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You will never ſee him either laugh or weep [c], though he is happy and ſuſceptible; his ſtrength of mind is ſuperior to joy and grief. Be not diſmayed at the dark cloud that ſeems to hang over his eyes. Phocion is affable, humane, and indulgent to our foibles. He is rigid and ſevere only to thoſe who corrupt the public manners by their examples, or ruin the ſtate by their evil counſels [d].

I am happy that chance has, in ſo ſhort an interval, brought within your view Diogenes and Phocion. By comparing them, you will find that the former never makes a ſacrifice to philoſophy without puſhing it too far, and proclaiming it to the public; whilſt the latter neither ſtudies to diſplay nor to conceal his virtues. I ſhall go farther, and aſſert, that, at the firſt glance, you may decide which of the two men is the genuine philoſopher. Phocion's cloak, is as coarſe as that of Diogenes; but the cloak of Diogenes is ragged, and that of Phocion is not.

After Phocion came two Athenians, one of whom was remarkable for his majeſtic ſtature, and a commanding countenance [e]. That man, ſaid Apollodorus to me, is the ſon of a ſhoemaker [f], and a ſon-in-law of Cotys, king of Thrace [g]. His name is Iphicrates; the other is the ſon of Conon, who was one of the greateſt men of the age, and is named Timotheus.

Both of them, placed at the head of our armies, have, for a long ſeries of years, maintained the glory of the republic [h]; both have ſhown themſelves capable of uniting information with talents, reflection with experience, and ſtratagem with bravery [i]. Iphicrates more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſtrict diſcipline he introduced among our troops, by the prudence that directed his enterpriſes, and a ſcrupulous diffidence which has always kept him on his guard againſt the

[c] Id. ibid. p. 743. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 743 et 746.
[e] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[f] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 186.
[g] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[h] Id. in Timoth. cap. 4.
[i] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 9 et 10. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p 589.

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enemy[k]. He was much indebted to his reputation; and, therefore, when marching against the Barbarians, he said: "I am only afraid of one thing; that they have never heard of Iphicrates[l]."

Timotheus is more active[m], more patient, less skillful perhaps in forming projects, but endowed with more constancy and firmness when they are to be carried into execution. His enemies, to avoid acknowledging his merit, accused him of being lucky, and had him represented sleeping under a tent, with Fortune hovering over his head, and collecting a round him cities taken in a net. Timotheus was shown the picture, and pleasantly observed: "What should I not do then were I awake[n]?"

Iphicrates has made some useful changes in the arms of the infantry[o]. Timotheus has often enriched the exhausted treasury with spoils taken from the enemy. It is true that he has also enriched himself[p]. The former has restored sovereigns to their thrones[q]; the latter has compelled the Lacedæmonians to yield to us the empire of the sea[r]. Both are endowed with the powers of oratory. The eloquence of Iphicrates is pompous and ostentatious[s]; that of Timotheus more simple and persuasive[t]. We have erected statues to them[u], and we shall one day perhaps send them into banishment.

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[k] Nep. in Iphicr cap. 1. Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187.
[l] Plut. ibid.
[m] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[n] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 454. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Ælian. lib. 13. cap. 43.
[o] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 360.
[p] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[q] Id. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[r] Id. in Timoth. cap. 2.
[s] Plut. de Rep. Ger. t. ii. p. 813.
[t] Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 16.
[u] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 2. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 24.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Lyceum.—Gymnasia.—Isocrates.—Palestra.—Funerals of the Athenians.

ANOTHER day, at the instant that Apollodorus had called on me to propose a walk to the Lyceum, I ran to him, exclaiming, Do you know him?— Who? — Isocrates. I have just been reading one of his harangues; I am enchanted with it. Is he still alive? Where is he? What does he do?— He is in Athens, answered Apollodorus. He professes eloquence. He is a celebrated man; I am acquainted with him. — I must see him to-day, this morning, this very instant. —We will call on him on our return from the Lyceum.

We passed by the quarter of the marshes, and going out of the town by the gate of Ægeus, followed a path along the Ilissus, which according to the difference of seasons is an impetous torrent, or peaceful rivulet, and rushes along with violence, or glides gently, at the foot of an eminence that terminates Mount Hymettus. Its banks are pleasing, and its waters generally pure and limpid [x]. In the environs we saw an altar dedicated to the muses [y]; the place whence Boreas is said to have carried off the beautiful Orithyia, daughter of king Erechtheus [z]; the temple of Ceres where the lesser mysteries are celebrated [a]; and that of Diana, where a great number of goats are annually sacrificed in honour of the goddess. Before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians had vowed to immolate as many of these animals as they should find Persians dead on the field. After the victory, perceiving that the performance of so inconsiderate a vow would soon exhaust the flocks of Attica, they limited the number of victims to

[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. ii. p. 229. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 121.
[y] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 45. Dionys. Perieg. v. 425.
[z] Plat. ibid. Pausan. ibid.
[a] Steph. in Ἄγρα.

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five hundred [b], with which the goddess was pleased to be contented.

Whilst I was listening to these details, we discovered a number of peasants running on the hill, and striking on brazen vessels, to attract a swarm of bees which had just left a hive [c].

These insects are extremely partial to Mount Hymettus, which they have filled with their colonies, and which is covered almost every where with wild thyme [d] and other odoriferous plants. But it is chiefly from the excellent thyme it produces [e], that they extract those precious sweets with which they compose a honey in high estimation throughout Greece [f]. It is of a white colour, verging towards yellow; it grows black when long kept, and always retains its fluidity [g]. The Athenians gather a vast quantity every year; and we may judge of the value they set upon it from the use made of it by the Greeks, who employ honey in their pastry [h], as well as in their ragouts [i]. It is said even to prolong life, and to be particularly salutary for aged persons [k]. Nay, I have seen some disciples of Pythagoras preserve their health, though they took no other nourishment than a little honey [l].

Repassing the Ilissus, we came into a road where the Athenians exercise themselves in the course, and which conducted us to the Lyceum [m].

The Athenians have three gymnasia appropriated to the education of youth [n]; that of the Lyceum, that of the Cy-

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b Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 301. Plut. de Herodot. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.

c Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 843.

d Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 678. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 181.

e Antiph. apud Athen. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 28. Alex. apud eund. lib. 14. p. 652

f Plin. lib. 11. cap. 13. t. i. p. 596. Id. lib. 21. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 243. Varro de Re Rustic. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 374. Colum. de Re Rustic. lib. 9. cap. 4.

g Geopon. lib. 15. cap. 7.

h Athen. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 109. Id. lib. 14. p. 646.

i Hesych. in Ὑποτρ.

k Geopon. ibid.

l Athen. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 46. lib. 10. &c.

m Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 476.

n Ulpian. in Timocr. p. 820.

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nosarges [o], situated on an eminence so called, and that of the Academy. All three have been built at the expence of the government, without the walls of the city. The second was formerly set apart for illegitimate children [p].

They are spacious edifices, surrounded by gardens, and a sacred grove. The first entrance is by a square court, two stadia in circumference [q], which is encompassed with porticos and buildings. On three of its sides are lare halls, provided with seats, in which the philosophers, rhetoricians, and sophists, assemble their disciples [r]. On the fourth, are rooms for bathing, and other practices of the gymnasium. The portico facing the south is double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from penetrating into the internal part.

From this court you pass into an enclosure likewise square, shaded in the middle by some plane-trees. A range of porticos extends round three of the sides. That which fronts the north has a double row of columns, to shelter those who walk there in summer from the sun. The opposite portico is called Xystus [s]. In the middle of this portico, and through its whole length, they have contrived a sort of hollow way, about twelve feet wide and nearly two deep, where, sheltered from the weather, and separated from the spectators ranged along the sides, the young scholars exercise themselves in wrestling. Beyond the Xystus is a stadium for foot races [t].

A magistrate, named the gymnasiarch, presides at the different gymnasia of Athens. His office is annual, and conferred on him by the general assembly of the state [u]. It is his duty to furnish the oil made use of by the athletæ to give suppleness to their limbs [x]. He has under him, in each gym-

[o] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 791. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 24. Laert. lib 6. § 13.

[p] Demosth. in Aristoer. p. 760. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 112.

[q] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 11.

[r] Plat. Euthyp. t. i. p. 2. Isocra. Panath. t. ii. p. 191. Demet. de Interp. § 111. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. t. i. p. 329.

[s] Xenoph. Œconom. lib. 5. p. 850.

[t] Vitruv. lib. 5 cap. 11.

[u] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 544.

[x] Ulpian. in Leptin. orat. p. 575.

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nasium, several officers, such as the gymnastes, the paidotribes, and others; some of whom maintain order among the youth, and others teach them different exercises. At the head of these are ten sophronists, nominated by the ten tribes, to whom the superintendance of the morals of the youth is more especially committed [y], and all of whom must be approved by the Areopagus [z].

As it is of the greatest importance that confidence and security should prevail in the gymnasium, as well as in all numerous assemblies, thefts committed there are punished with death, when they exceed the value of ten drachmas [a].

The gymnasia being deemed the asylum of innocence and modesty, Solon had prohibited the people from entering them, at the time when the scholars, celebrating a festival in honour of Mercury [b], were less under the eye of their preceptors; but this regulation has fallen into disuse [c].

The exercises practised there are ordained by the laws, subject to certain regulations, and animated by the commendations of the masters, and still more by the emulation that subsists among the disciples. All Greece considers them as the most essential part of education, as they render men active, robust, and capable of supporting military labours, as well as the leisure hours of peace [d]. Considered relatively to health, physicians prescribe them with success [e]. Of their great utility in the military art, it is impossible to give a higher idea, than by citing the example of the Lacedæmonians. To these exercises were they indebted for those victories which once made them so formidable to other nations; and, in later times, in order to conquer, it was first necessary to equal them in the gymnastic discipline [f].

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y Stob. Serm. 5. p. 77.
z Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367.
a Demosth. in Timocr. p. 791.
b Æschin. in Tim. p. 262.
c Plat. in Lys t. ii. p 204 et 206.
d Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 901.
e Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 2. t. i. cap. 39, &c. lib. 3. cap. 25.
f Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 452. Plut. Sympos. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.

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But if the advantages resulting from this institution be eminent, its abuses are not less dangerous. Medicine and philosophy both concur in condemning these exercises, when they exhaust the body, or give more ferocity than courage to the mind [g].

The gymnasium of the Lyceum has been successively enlarged and embellished [h]. The walls are enriched with paintings [i]. Apollo is the tutelary deity of the place. His statue is at the entrance [k]; and the gardens, ornamented with beautiful alleys, were restored in the last years of my residence in Greece [l]. Those who walk there are invited to rest themselves, by seats placed under the trees [m].

After having been present at the exercises of the young men, and passing a few minutes in the public halls, where important and frivolous questions were alternately discussed, we took the road leading from the Lyceum to the Academy, along the walls of the city [n]. We had proceeded but a little way before we met with a venerable old man, whom Apollodorus seemed particularly glad to see. After the first compliments, he inquired whither he was going. The old man answered, in a shrill tone of voice, I am going to dine at Plato's, with Ephorus and Theopompus, who are waiting for me at the gate of Dipylon.—That is exactly in our road, replied Apollodorus, we shall have the pleasure of your company.— But, tell me, do you still continue then to love Plato [o]?—As much as I flatter myself I am beloved by him. Our intimacy, which originated in our childhood, has never suffered the smallest diminution. He has not forgotten it in one of his dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates speak-

[g] Hippocr. ibid. lib. 3. t. i. cap. 28. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410. Arist. de Rep. ib. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 151.

[h] Theopomp. et Philoch. ap. Suid. in Αὔξ., Harpocr. in Αὔξ. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 29. p. 75.

[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 425.

[k] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 887. Pausan. lib. 1. cap 19. p. 44.

[l] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 841.

[m] Lucian. ibid. p. 895.

[n] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 203.

[o] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 8.

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ing of me in moſt honourable terms [p].—That praiſe was due to you. Every one remembers, that at the death of Socrates, whilſt his diſciples took to flight in conſternation, you ventured to appear in mourning in the ſtreets of Athens [q]. And but a few years before you had given another example of firmneſs. When Theramenes, proſcribed by the thirty tyrants, in full ſenate, took refuge by the altar, you roſe up in his defence; and was not he himſelf obliged to entreat you to ſpare him the affliction of ſeeing you periſh with him [r]? The old man ſeemed delighted with this eulogium. I was impatient to learn his name, but Apollodorus took a pleaſure in concealing it from me.

Son of Theodorus, ſaid he to him, are not you of the ſame age with Plato?—I am ſix or ſeven years older [s]; he muſt only be in his ſixty-eighth year.—You appear to be in good health.—Excellent; I am as well in body and mind as it is poſſible to be [t].—They ſay you are very rich [u]?—I have acquired by my application enough to ſatisfy the deſires of a wiſe man [x]. My father had a manufactory of muſical inſtruments [y]. He was ruined in the Peloponneſian war, and leaving me no inheritance but an excellent education, I was under the neceſſity of living by my literary acquirements, and by turning to account the leſſons I had received from Gorgias, Prodicus, and the ableſt orators of Greece. I drew up pleadings for ſuch as were not able to defend their own cauſes [z]. A diſcourſe which I addreſſed to Nicocles, king of Cyprus, procured me a preſent from him of twenty talents *[a]. I opened a courſe of public lectures on oratory, and the number of my diſciples daily increaſing, I have reaped the fruit of labours which have employed every moment of my life.—

p Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 278.
q Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
r Id. ibid. p. 836.
s Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. cap. 4. Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 836.
t Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
u Dionyſ. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 537.
x Iſocr. ibid.
y Plut. ibid. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 534.
z Cicer. in Brut. t. i. p. 346.
* 108,000 livres (4,500l.)
a Plut. ibid. p. 838.

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Admit, however, that notwithstanding the severity of your manners, you have found time to dedicate some of these moments to pleasure. You had formerly the handsome Metanira, and in a more advanced age took to your house a no less amiable courtesan[b]. The world then said of you that you knew how to reconcile the maxims of philosophy with the refinements of voluptuousness, and talked of that sumptuous bed you procured to be made, and of those pillows which exhaled so delicious an odour[c]. The old man, smiling, did not deny these facts.

Apollodorus continued: You have an amiable family, good health, an easy fortune, and numberless disciples; your name you have rendered illustrious, and your virtues rank you among our most respectable citizens[d]; with so many advantages you must be the happiest man in Athens.—Alas! answered the old man, I am perhaps the most wretched of mortals. All my plan of happiness consisted in obtaining authority and influence in the state; but as, on the one hand, it is impossible to acquire weight in a democracy without taking part in public affairs, and Nature, on the other, has given me but a feeble voice, and excessive timidity[e], it has so happened that, with a capacity every way equal to the discernment of the true interests of the state, but incapable of defending them in the general assembly, I have been always violently tormented with the ambition and impossibility of being useful, or, if you will, of obtaining influence[f]. The Athenians receive lessons of eloquence from me gratuitously; foreigners for one thousand drachmas. I would give a million to the man who could procure me a proper portion of courage with a sonorous voice[g].—But you have repaired the

[b] Lys. Hermip. et Strat. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 592.
[c] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 839.
[d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
[e] Isocr. Epist. ad Phil. t. i. p. 270. Id. Epist. ad Mityl. t. i. p 487. Cic. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 194.
[f] Isocr. Panath. t ii. p. 185.
[g] Plut. X. Orat. Vit t. ii. p. 838.

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injuries of Nature; by your writings you instruct that public you cannot reach with your oratory, and who are unable to refuse you their esteem.—And what signifies to me the esteem of others, if I cannot obtain my own? I sometimes carry the mean idea I entertain of my own abilities even to contempt [h]. What advantage have I derived from them? Have I ever been able to obtain public employments, the offices of magistracy, or the applause and honours which I daily see bestowed on those base orators who betray the state [i]? Though my panegyric on Athens made those rhetoricians blush who had before treated the same subject, and discouraged others from again attempting it [k], I have always spoken of my successes with modesty, or rather with humility [l]. My intentions are pure; I have never, either by writings or accusations, done injury to any man; yet I have enemies [m].—What then! must not you expect to pay the tribute of your merit by some disquietudes? Your enemies are more to be pitied than yourself. An unwelcome voice perpetually reminds them that kings, generals, statesmen, historians, and authors in every branch of literature, are numbered among your disciples [n]; that whole colonies of learned and ingenious men from time to time issue from your school, who spread your doctrines far and wide; that you govern Greece by your pupils [o]; and, to make use of your own expression, that you are the stone that whets the instrument.—True; but it is not the stone that cuts [p].

But envy, added Apollodorus, cannot at least deny that you have promoted and improved the art of oratory [q].—Yet this is the merit of which they likewise wish to rob me. Every day a set of audacious sophists, and ungrateful teach-

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h Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
i Id. ibid. p. 189.
k Isocr. de Antid. t. ii. p. 404.
l Id Panath. t. ii. p. 192.
m Id. de Antid. p. 386, 390, &c.
n Id. ibid. p. 388.
o Cicer. Orat. cap. 13. t. i. p. 429. Dionys. Halicar. de Isocr. t. v. p. 536.
p Plut. X. Orar. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
q Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 214. Id. Orat. cap. 13. p 429. cap. 52. p. 464. Naucrat. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 44. p. 321.

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ers, after inculcating on their ſcholars precepts and examples borrowed from my writings, renew their attacks on my reputation with redoubled ardour. They employ themſelves on ſubjects that I have handled, and aſſembling around them their partizans, compare their diſcourſes with mine, which they have taken the precaution to metamorphoſe, and are mean enough to disfigure in the recital. Such cruel ingratitude wounds me to the quick [r]. But I perceive Ephorus and Theopompus. I am going to accompany them to Plato's, and muſt take my leave of you.

The inſtant he was gone, turning haſtily round to Apollodorus, I aſked him, Who then is this old man, at once ſo modeſt and ſo vain; ſo wretched, though poſſeſſing ſo many of the eſſentials of happineſs? This is Iſocrates, ſaid he, whom we were to viſit on our return. By my queſtions I led him on to trace out to you the leading features of his life and character. You have ſeen that he twice gave proofs of courage in his youth. This effort, apparently, exhauſted the vigour of his mind; for he has paſſed the remainder of his days in apprehenſion and chagrin. The very ſight of the roſtrum, which he has prudently renounced, gives him ſuch uneaſineſs, that he no longer attends at the general aſſemblies [s]. He imagines himſelf ſurrounded by enemies and envious perſons, becauſe a cabal of authors whom he deſpiſes judge leſs favourably of his writings than himſelf. It is his fate to be perpetually in the purſuit of fame, and never to know repoſe [t].

Unfortunately for him, his works abounding in other reſpects with great beauties, furniſh powerful weapons for criticiſm; his ſtyle is pure and fluent, full of ſoftneſs and harmony, ſometimes pompous and magnificent, but occaſionally

[r] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 190. Id. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 277.

[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.

[t] Iſocr. Panath. t. i. p. 184 et 187.

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languid, diffuſe, and overcharged with ornaments, by which it is disfigured [u].

His eloquence is not calculated for the diſcuſſions of popular aſſemblies, nor for the bar [x]; its object is to ſoothe the ear rather than to affect the heart. It is painful to ſee ſo eſtimable an author often ſink into the mere ſonorous writer, reducing his art to the ſingle merit of eloquence [y]; laboriouſly ſubjecting his thoughts to words [z]; avoiding the concourſe of vowels with a puerile affectation [a]; attentive only to the rounding of his periods, and, as his only reſource to produce ſymmetry in their component members, driven to fill them up with redundant words and miſplaced figures [b]. As he does not ſufficiently diverſify his ſtyle, his reader at laſt becomes cold and diſguſted. He is a painter who gives the ſame drapery and the ſame attitudes to all his figures [c].

His diſcourſes generally turn on the moſt important topics of morals and politics [d]. He neither perſuades nor carries his reader along with him, for he does not write with warmth, and ſeems more attentive to his art than the truths he is announcing [e]. Hence, poſſibly it happens that ſovereigns, of whom he has in ſome ſort made himſelf the legiſlator [f], have replied to his counſels by rewards. He has compoſed, on the duty of kings, a little work, which he has procured to be circulated through every court. It was ſent to Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe [g], who admired the author, and eaſily pardoned him leſſons from which he felt no remorſe.

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[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. i. p. 286 Dionyſ. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 537.

[x] Dionyſ. Halic ibid. t. v. p. 539. Cicer. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p 429.

[y] Ariſt. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 35 t. i. p. 313.

[z] Dionyſ Halic. ibid. p. 558

[a] Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 593. Dionyſ Halic. ibid. p 538. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. § 68.

[b] Cic. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 429. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 540. Hermog. de Form lib 2. p 388.

[c] Philon. ap. Dion. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 559.

[d] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 535.

[e] Hermog. de Formis, lib. 1. p. 294. et lib. 2. p. 388.

[f] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 55. Aphton. Progymn. p. 4.

[g] Iſocr. Orat. ad Phil. t. i. p. 269. Socratic. Epiſt. p. 66.

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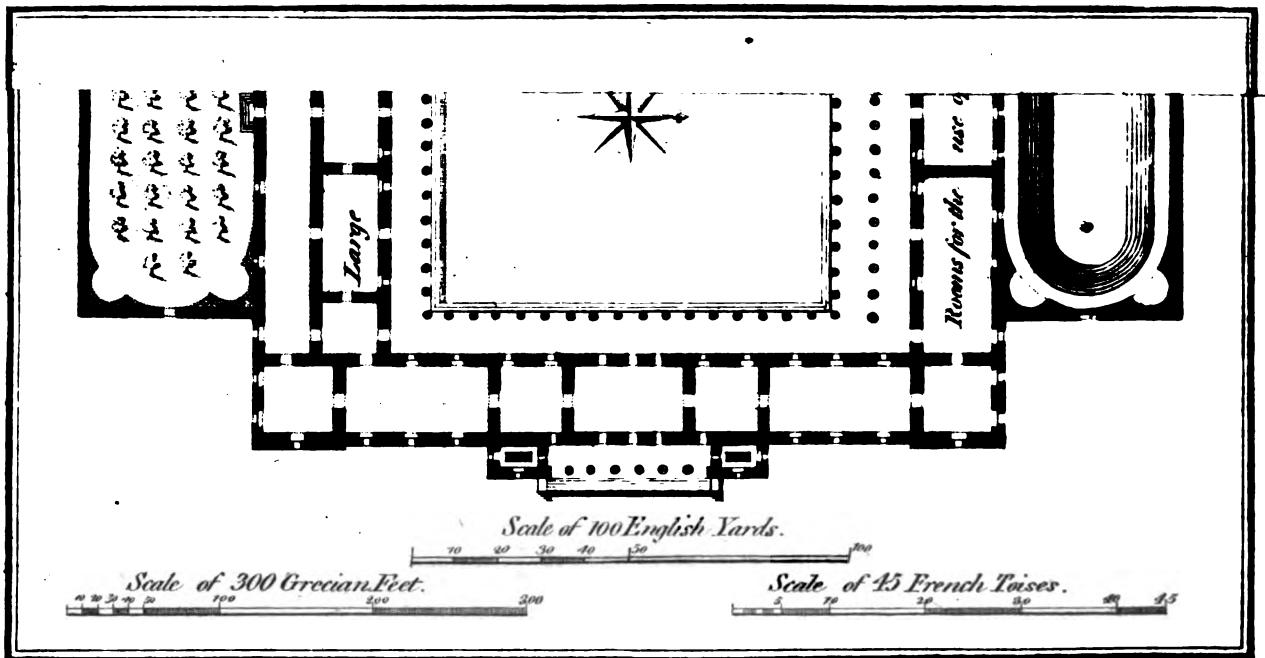

PLAN OF A GRECIAN PALÆSTRA

AFTER VITRUVIUS.

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Isocrates has grown old in composing, polishing, repolishing, and recomposing a very inconsiderable number of works. His panegyric of Athens is said to have cost him ten years application [h]. Whilst employed in this laborious structure, he did not perceive that he was erecting it on foundations which must inevitably occasion its ruin. He says it down as a principle, that it is the nature of eloquence to magnify little things, and to diminish great ones; and afterwards endeavours to prove that the Athenians have rendered more service to Greece than the Lacedæmonians [i].

Notwithstanding these faults, to which his enemies add many others, his writings present us with so many happy turns, and salutary maxims, that they will always serve as models for those who are qualified to study them. He is an able rhetorician, destined to form excellent writers, and an enlightened teacher, attentive to the improvement of his disciples, and to the character of their genius. Ephorus of Cumæ, and Theopompus of Chios, who have just taken him from us, have had a happy experience of this. After inspiring the first with energy, and repressing the impetuosity of the latter [k], he has recommended to them both to write history [l], and their first essays do honour to the sagacity of the master, and the abilities of the pupils.

Whilst Apollodorus was informing me of these particulars, we crossed the forum. He then conducted me by the street of the Hermæ, and brought me into the palæstra of Taureas, facing the Royal Portico [m] *.

As Athens possesses different gymnasia, it contains likewise several palæstræ. In the former of these schools youth pursue their exercises; the latter are set apart for athletæ by pro-

h Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 4. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1455.

i Longin. de Subl. § 38.

k Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 9. t. i. p. 288. Idem de Clar. Orat. cap. 56. p. 383. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 105. Suid. in Ἔφορ.

l Id. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 205.

m Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 153.

* See plan of the palæstra.

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feſſion. We ſaw a number of theſe who had carried off the prizes in the games inſtituted in the different cities of Greece, and others who were aſpiring to the ſame honours. Many Athenians, and even old men [n], aſſiduouſly reſort thither, to continue their exerciſes, or be ſpectators of the combats.

The palæſtræ are nearly of the ſame form with the gymnaſia. We viſited the apartments appropriated to all the ſpecies of baths; thoſe where the wreſtlers leave their clothes, where they rub their bodies with oil to render their limbs ſupple, and where they roll themſelves in the ſand in order to give their antagoniſts a hold [o].

Wreſtling, leaping, tennis, and all the exerciſes of the Lyceum, were here repeated before us with greater varieties, and with more ſtrength and ſkill on the part of the performers.

Among the different groups before us, we diſtinguiſhed men of the moſt perfect beauty, and worthy of ſerving as models for artiſts; ſome with vigorous and boldly marked outlines, as Hercules is repreſented; and others of a more ſlim and elegant ſhape, as Achilles is deſcribed. The former, devoting themſelves to wreſtling and boxing, had no object but to increaſe their bodily ſtrength [p]; the latter, educated to leſs violent exerciſes, ſuch as running, leaping, &c. confined themſelves to acquirements of agility.

Their regimen is ſuited to the different exerciſes for which they are deſigned. Some of them abſtain from women [q] and wine; others lead a very abſtemious life; but thoſe who make laborious exertions, ſtand in need of a great quantity of ſubſtantial food, ſuch as roaſted beef and pork, to reſtore their ſtrength [r]. If they require only two minæ a day, with bread in proportion, they give a very favourable idea of their

[n] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.
[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. Hiſt. p. 99
[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410.
[q] Id. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 840.
[r] Hipp. Epid. lib. 5. t. i. p. 788. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 411. Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1028. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. p. 221.

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temperance [s]. But several are mentioned who have made a terrible consumption of provisions. Theagenes of Thasos, for instance, is said to have eaten a whole ox in a day [t]. The same exploit is attributed to Milo of Crotona, whose usual quantity of food for a day was twenty minæ of meat, as many of bread *, and three congii of wine † [u]. It is said likewise that Astydamas of Miletus, when at the table of Ariobarzanes the Persian satrap, devoured alone the supper prepared for nine guests [x]. These stories, no doubt exaggerated, prove at least the idea generally entertained of the voracity of this class of wrestlers. When they are able to gratify it without danger, they acquire extraordinary strength: their stature becomes sometimes gigantic, and their adversaries, struck with terror, either decline entering the lists, or sink under the weight of their enormous bodies.

They are so oppressed by excess of nutriment as to be obliged to pass part of their lives in a profound sleep [y], and soon become so extremely corpulent as to be no longer known to be the same persons [z]: this is succeeded by disorders which render them as wretched, as they have always been unserviceable to their country [a]; for it cannot be denied that wrestling, boxing, and all those combats disputed with so much fury and obstinacy in the public solemnities, are no longer any thing but ostentatious exhibitions, since tactics have been brought to perfection. Egypt at no time adopted them, as they give only a temporary strength [b]. Lacedæmon has corrected their inconveniences by the wisdom of her institutions. In the other states of Greece men have discovered that, by subjecting their children to them, they incur the risk of in-

[s] Galen. de Dignot. Pulf. lib. 2. cap. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 221, &c.

[t] Poleidip. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 412.

* About 18 pounds.

† About 15 French pints (or English quarts nearly).

[u] Theodor. ap. Athen. ibid.

[x] Athen. ibid. p. 413.

[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 404.

[z] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 1121.

[a] Euripid. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 413.

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 73.

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juring their ſhape, and preventing their growth [c]; and that, in a more advanced age, profeſſed wreſtlers never make good ſoldiers, becauſe they are unable to ſupport hunger, thirſt, watching, the ſmalleſt wants, or the moſt trifling deviation from their uſual habits [d].

On coming out of the palæſtra, we learned that Telaira, the wife of Pyrrhus, a relation and friend of Apollodorus, had been ſuddenly taken ill, and that her life was in imminent danger; the branches of laurel and acanthus, which it is cuſtomary to ſuſpend at the houſe of a ſick perſon, had been ſeen at her door [e]. We immediately haſtened thither, and found the relations of the family crowding around her bed, and addreſſing prayers to Mercury, the conductor of departed ſpirits [f], while the unhappy Pyrrhus was taking his laſt farewell of his affectionate wife [g]. With difficulty he was forced away from this ſcene. We ſtrove to remind him of the leſſons which he had received at the academy, thoſe leſſons ſo ſpecious in proſperity, but ſo impertinent in affliction. "O philoſophy," exclaimed he, "yeſterday thou commandedſt me to love my wife, to-day thou forbiddeſt me to lament her [h]!" Yet after all, ſaid we to him, your tears cannot reſtore her to life. "Alas!" replied he, "that reflection only makes them flow faſter [i]."

As ſoon as ſhe expired, the whole houſe reſounded with cries and lamentations. The body was waſhed, perfumed with odoriferous eſſences, and clothed in a coſtly garment [k]. On her head, which was covered with a veil, was placed a chaplet of flowers [l]; in her hands a cake of flower and honey,

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[c] Ariſtot. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 452.

[d] Plut. in Philop. t. i. p. 357.

[e] Laert. in Bion. lib. 4. § 57. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἀστραγ. Bod in Theophr. Hiſt Plant lib. 3. cap 17 p. 258.

[f] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 24. v. 9. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἑρμῆς.

[g] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 391.

[h] Stob. Serm. 97. p. 539.

[i] Id. Serm 122. p. 613.

[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24. v. 587. Id. in Odyſſ. lib. 24. verſ. 44. Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 1626, et 1329. Id. in Alceſt. v. 158. Sophocl. in Electr. v. 1145. Lucian. de Luct. t. ii. p. 926.

[l] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 1458.

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to appeaſe Cerberus [m]; and in her mouth a piece of money, of the value of one or two oboli, to pay Charon [n]; and in this ſtate ſhe lay expoſed for a whole day in the veſtibule of the houſe. At the door ſtood a veſſel of luſtral water, to purify thoſe who might touch the corpſe [o].

This expoſure is deemed neceſſary to aſcertain that the perſon is really deceaſed [p], and died a natural death [q]. It is ſometimes continued even to the third day [r].

The time of the funeral was announced; which we were obliged to attend before ſun riſe [s], the laws prohibiting the choice of any other hour, that a ceremony ſo mournful may not degenerate into a ſcene of oſtentation. The friends and relations were invited [t]. We found women about the coffin making loud lamentations [u]; ſome of whom cut off locks of their hair, and laid them by the ſide of Telaira, as pledges of their affection and grief [x]. The body was placed on a car, in a coffin of cypreſs wood [y]. The women followed the corpſe; the men walked before it [z], ſome with their heads ſhaved, but all with downcaſt eyes, and clothed in black [a]. They were preceded by a band of muſicians, who played and ſung melancholy airs [b]. We afterward repaired to a houſe belonging to Pyrrhus near Phalerum, where the aſhes of his anceſtors were depoſited [c].

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[m] Ariſtoph in Lyſiſt. v. 601. Schol. ib. Id. in Eccleſ. v 534.

[n] Ariſtoph i. Ran. v. 140. Schol. ib. v. 272. Lucian. ibid. Epigr. Lucil. in Anthol. p. 268.

[o] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 100. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 1025. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 7. § 65. Heſych in Ἀφ. Caſaub in Theophraſt. cap. 16.

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 12. p. 959.

[q] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 7. § 65.

[r] Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. cap. 14. § 146

[s] Demoſt. in Macart. Callim. Epigr. in Anthol lib. 3. p. 377.

[t] Ariſtot. de Morib. lib. 9. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 118.

[u] Euripid in Alceſt. v. 103.

[x] Id. v. 102. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 1192 Kirchm. de Funerib. lib. 2. cap 13 et 15.

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 34.

[z] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1037. Lyſ. de Cæde Eratoſt. p. 5. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. ſcen. 1. v. 90.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1438 et 1449.

[b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24. v. 721. Euſtath p. 1372. Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 619.

[c] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Callicl. p. 1117.

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The practice of interring dead bodies was anciently common to most nations [d], that of burning them has in later times prevailed among the Greeks [e]; at present it seems to be considered as a matter of indifference whether we restore our remains to the earth, or commit them to the flames [f]. The body of Telaira was laid on a pile, and when consumed, the nearest relations collected the ashes [g], and buried the urn which contained them in the ground.

During the ceremony, libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud [h]; and this eternal valediction redoubled those tears which had never ceased to flow from every eye.

We were next summoned to the funeral repast, where the conversation turned on the virtues of Telaira [i]. On the ninth and thirtieth days, her relations, habited in white, and crowned with flowers, again assembled to pay new honours to her manes [k]; and it was resolved that they should meet annually, on her birth-day, to lament her loss, as if it were still recent. This affectionate anniversary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a society of friends, and among the disciples of the same philosopher [l]. The regret testified on these occasions is renewed at the general festival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month Anthesterion * [m]. I have more than once likewise seen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey [n].

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d Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 22. t. iii. p. 155. Kirchm. de Funer. l. 1. c. 2.

e Homer. passim. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 52. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. scen. 1. Luciam de Luct. c. 21. t. ii. p. 932.

f Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 115.

g Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 352. Id. lib. 24. v. 793.

h Id. lib. 23. v. 221.

i Id. lib. 24. v. 802. Demosth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

k Hæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3 cap. 19. § 102. Id. lib. 1. cap. 7. § 66. Id. lib. 8. cap. 14. § 146. Jungerm. ibid.

l Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Γαμήλια.

* Corresponding with our months of February and March.

m Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Νηστεία.

n Pott. Archæol. lib. 4. cap. 5. et 8.

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Lefs attentive to the origin of thefe rites than to the fentiment by which they are preferved, I could not but admire the wifdom of the ancient legiflators, who taught that fepulture and its attendant ceremonies are to be confidered as things facred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the foul, having left its habitation the body, is ftopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the defire of reaching the place of its deftination, and that it appears in dreams to the furvivors, who fhould intereft themfelves in its fate, until they fhall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day, and the injuries of the weather [o].

Hence that anxiety to procure it the defired repofe; hence the injunction impofed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpfe which he may find upon his road [p]; and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the fevere laws againft all who violate them.

Hence alfo the ceremonies practifed with refpect to thofe who are fwallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impoffible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and, by facrifices and libations, flatter themfelves that they have brought back their manes [q], to which they fometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almoft equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an eafy fortune when alive, fome, conformably with ancient ufage, have only a fmall column erected over their afhes, with their name infcribed on it; others, in contempt of the laws which condemn oftentation, and all pretenfions to fictitious forrow, perpetuate the memory of their deceafed relations by elegant and magnificent ftructures, ornamented with ftatues, and embellifhed by

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 83. Euftath. ibid.

[p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hift. lib. 5. cap. 14.

[q] Homer. Odyff. lib. 1. v. 64. Euftath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 283. Schol. ibid.

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the arts [r]. I have seen a simple freed man expend two talents * for a monument to his wife [s].

Between the paths in which men stray, either from the excess or the default of sentiment, the laws have pointed out a tract from which no citizen is allowed to deviate. They exclude from the first dignities of the magistracy the ungrateful son, who, at the death of the authors of his being, has neglected the duties of nature and religion [t]. They command all persons attending at a funeral to respect decency even in their expressions of affliction and despair. Let no one, say they, infuse terror into the minds of the spectators, by piercing shrieks and terrifying lamentatations; above all, let not the women tear their faces, as was formerly the custom [u]. Who would imagine that it would ever be necessary to compel the latter to be careful of the preservation of their beauty?

CHAP. IX.

Journey to Corinth.—Xenophon.—Timoleon.

On our arrival in Greece, we had learned that the Eleans having taken possession of a small town in Peloponnesus, called Scillus, where Xenophon resided, he had removed with his sons to Corinth [x]. Timagenes was impatient to see him. We set out, therefore, taking with us Philotas, whose family was on terms of hospitality with that of Timodemus, one of the most ancient houses of Corinth [y]. We traversed Eleusis, Megaris, and the Isthmus, but were too much hurried to attend to the objects we met with on our journey.

[r] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 43.
* 10 800 livres (450l.)
[s] Demosth. in Steph. 1. p. 980.
[t] Xenoph. Memor. p. 743.
[u] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 158
[x] Laert. in Xenoph. lib. 2. § 53.
[y] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.

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Timodemus himself conducted us to the house of Xenophon. He was from home; but we found him in a neighbouring temple, offering up a sacrifice. All eyes were fixed on him, but his on no person; for he appeared in presence of the gods with the same respect with which he inspired men. I contemplated him with the liveliest emotion. He appeared to be about seventy or seventy-five, and his countenance still retained vestiges of that beauty for which he had been remarkable in his youth [z].

The ceremony was scarcely ended before Timagenes threw himself on his neck; and, unable to tear himself from him, called him, with a broken voice, his general, his saviour, his friend. Xenophon surveyed him with astonishment, and endeavoured to recognize features of which he had some recollection, but which were no longer familiar to him. At length he exclaimed: You are certainly Timagenes? Ah! who else could preserve such tender sentiments after so long an absence? You make me feel at this moment how delicious it is to see friends revive from whom we seemed to be separated for ever. Tender embraces followed this acknowledgment; and, during the whole of our stay at Corinth, mutual explanations formed the topic of their frequent conversations.

Born in a town of Attica, and educated in the school of Socrates, Xenophon in his early years bore arms in the service of his country. He then entered as a volunteer in the army assembled by the younger Cyrus to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia [a]. After the death of Cyrus, he was intrusted, conjointly with four officers, with the command of the Grecian troops [b]; and it was then they made that beautiful retreat, as greatly to be admired in its kind, as the relation he has given us of it is in point of composition. On his return, he entered into the service of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, in whose glory he shared, and whose friend-

[z] Laert. lib. 2. § 48.
[a] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 294.
[b] Id. ibid. 299.

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ſhip he merited [c]. Some time after, the Athenians ſentenced him to baniſhment, jealous no doubt of the preference he had given to the Lacedæmonians [d]. But the latter, to compenſate for the harſh treatment he ſuffered from his countrymen, beſtowed on him an habitation at Scillus [e].

In this happy retirement he had ſpent ſeveral years, and propoſed returning to it as ſoon as the troubles of Peloponneſus ſhould be appeaſed.

During our ſtay at Corinth, I contracted an intimacy with his two ſons, Gryllus and Diodorus, and a ſtill ſtricter friendſhip with Timoleon, the ſecond ſon of Timodemus, at whoſe houſe we reſided.

Were I to ſketch the portrait of Timoleon, I ſhould paſs over the undaunted courage he has diſplayed in battle; for among warlike nations that is no diſtinction; until carried to exceſs it ceaſes to be a virtue; but to exhibit all the qualities of his mind, I ſhould content myſelf with enumerating the moſt eminent: that conſummate prudence, which in him preceded maturity; his admirable moderation when his own intereſts were the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and his unſhaken firmneſs, when thoſe of his country were in queſtion; his unalterable hatred of the deſpotiſm of ambition, and the tyrrany of bad examples [f]; and I ſhould render his eulogium complete, by adding, that no man more reſembled Epaminondas, whom by a ſecret inſtinct he had adopted for his model [g].

Timoleon was happy in the public eſteem and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, when the enthuſiaſm of his virtue alienated from him almoſt every friend, and rendered him the moſt miſerable of men. His brother, Timophanes, who poſſeſſed neither his knowledge nor his rectitude of principle, had collected around him a number of corrupt men, who were

[c] Laert. lib. 2. § 51. Nep. in Agesil. cap. 1.
[d] Laert. ibid.
[e] Dinarch. ap. Laert. lib. 2. § 52.
[f] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.
[g] Plut. ibid. p. 253.

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perpetually urging him to make himself master of the supreme authority, and finally wrought him into a persuasion that his titles were well founded. A blind and presumptuous courage had procured him the confidence of the Corinthians, whose armies he had more than once commanded, and who placed him at the head of four hundred men, maintained for the internal security of the city. Timophanes converted these men into his personal guards; gained over the populace by largesses; and, seconded by a formidable party, assumed the sovereignty, and dragged the citizens he suspected to the scaffold [h].

Till now, Timoleon had only kept a watchful eye over his conduct and his projects. In hopes to reclaim him, he endeavoured to throw a veil over his faults, and to heighten the lustre of some noble actions which he had by accident performed. He had been even seen to precipitate himself, in battle, regardless of danger, amidst the enemy, and singly to sustain their joint attacks, to rescue a brother whom he loved, and whose body, covered with wounds, was on the point of falling into their hands [i].

Indignant at length at seeing tyranny established in his lifetime, and in the very bosom of his family, he painted in lively colours to Timophanes the horror he felt at the crimes he had already committed, and those which he still meditated; conjuring him immediately to abdicate an odious power, and to make atonement to the manes of the victims sacrificed to his mad ambition. Some days after, he again repaired to his apartment, accompanied by two of their friends, one of them the brother-in-law of Timophanes; they reiterate their united entreaties, and conjure him by the endearing ties of blood, of friendship, and of his country: Timophanes at first answered them with the most insulting derision, and at length broke out into menaces and rage. It had been previously concerted, that a positive refusal on his part should be the signal of his

[h] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.

[i] Id. ibid.

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destruction. His two friends, wearied with his resistance, plunged a dagger in his breast, whilst Timoleon, with his head covered with his robe, remained overwhelmed with grief, and dissolved in tears, in a corner of the apartment [k], to which he had retired.

I cannot, without shuddering, think of that fatal moment when we heard those piercing cries, those terrifying words, re-echo through the house: Timophanes is dead; his brother-in-law has killed him; he is murdered by his brother. We happened at that instant to be with Demarista, his mother; his father was from home. Casting my eyes on this unhappy woman, I saw her hair stand erect upon her head, and horror painted on her countenance, amidst the shades of death. When she had recovered the use of her senses, she uttered, without shedding a single tear, the most horrid imprecations against Timoleon, who was denied even the feeble consolation of hearing them from her mouth. Shutting herself up in her apartment, she vowed never more to behold the murderer of her son [l].

Among the Corinthians, some considered the assassination of Timophanes as an heroic, and others as an atrocious deed. The former thought they could never sufficiently extol the exalted courage which could sacrifice the ties of nature and friendship to the public good. The greater part, however, though they approved of the destruction of the tyrant [m], added, that every citizen had a right to take away his life, except his brother. This transaction was followed by a tumult which was soon appeased, and an accusation preferred against Timoleon, from which he was acquitted [n].

The judgment he passed on himself was more rigorous. No sooner did he perceive that what he had done was condemned by the greater number, than he doubted of his own

[k] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 237. Nep. in Timol. cap. 1.
[l] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.

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innocence, and resolved to renounce life. His friends, by their entreaties and attention, at length prevailed on him to take some nourishment; but he could not be persuaded to remain with them. He quitted Corinth, and wandered for several years in solitary places, entirely abandoned to his grief, bitterly deploring the errors of his virtue, and sometimes the ingratitude of the Corinthians °.

We shall one day see him again make his appearance with more lustre, and bestow happiness on a great empire which owed to him its liberty.

The troubles occasioned by the murder of his brother hastened our departure. We took leave of Xenophon with great regret. I again met with him, a few years after, at Scillus; and, at a proper time, shall give you an account of the conversations I then had with him. His two sons accompanied us, with intention to serve in the troops the Athenians were preparing to send to the Lacedæmonians.

In our road, we fell in with a great number of travellers, who were repairing to Athens, to be present at the greater Dionysia, one of the most celebrated festivals of that city. Besides the gratification I expected for my curiosity in the magnificence of the other spectacles, I was extremely desirous to be present at a competition that had long been customary at this time, in which poets vied with each other, and presented new tragedies and comedies. We arrived on the 5th of the month Elaphebolion *, and the festival was to commence in eight days †.

° Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. Nep. ibid. cap. 1.

* The first of April of the year 362 before J. C.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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CHAP. X.

Levies, Review, and Exercise of the Troops.

TWO days after our arrival, we repaired to a place where the levy of the troops intended to be sent into Peloponnesus was to be made. They were to form a junction with those of the Lacedæmonians, and some other states, to oppose, conjointly with them, the projects of the Thebans and their allies [p]. Hegelochus [q], the strategus or general, was seated on a raised seat [r]. Near him a taxiarch [s], or general officer, held the register in which were inscribed the names of the citizens, who being of sufficient age to carry arms [t] were summoned to attend at this tribunal. He called over the names aloud, and noted down those whom the general had chosen [u].

The Athenians are bound to serve from the age of eighteen to that of sixty [x], but citizens of an advanced age are rarely required to serve [y]; and when those who are very young are chosen, care is taken to station them at a distance from the posts most exposed [z]. Sometimes the government fixes the age of the recruits [a], and sometimes they are drawn for by lot [b].

Such as farm the public imposts, or perform in the choruses at the festivals of Bacchus, are exempted from service [c]; and it is only on urgent occasions that the slaves [d], the foreigners settled in Attica, and the poorest of the citizens, are

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[p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 642. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 391.

[q] Diod. Sic. p. 393.

[r] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.

[s] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1172.

[t] Id. in Equit. v. 366. Schol. ibid. Suid. et Hesych. in. Καλέω. Argum. Orat. Demosth. Adv. Olymp. p. 1064.

[u] Lys. in Alcib. p. 475. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 115.

[x] Arist. ap. Suid. et Harpocr. in Στρατ. Poll. lib. 2. cap. 2. § 11. Taylor. in Not. ad Lys. p. 124.

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 752.

[z] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 422. Suid. et Etymol. Magn. in Τυρρ.

[a] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50

[b] Lys. pro Mantit. p. 307.

[c] Sam. Pet. p. 555. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 43.

[d] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 33 et 705. Schol. ibid.

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obliged to take the field [e]. These are very seldom enrolled, because they have not taken the oath to defend the country, or because they are supposed to have no interest in it to defend. The law confides this important trust only to citizens possessing some property; and the wealthiest serve only as common soldiers. Hence it happens that the loss of a battle, by enfeebling the higher classes, contributes to give the inferior ones a superiority which may change the form of government [f].

The republic had engaged to furnish the army of the allies with six thousand men, cavalry and infantry [g]. The day after their enrolment they tumultuously dispersed themselves with their arms about the streets and public places [h]. Their names were affixed to the statues of the ten heroes after whom the tribes of Athens are named [i], so that any person might read on each statue the names of the soldiers of each tribe.

A few days after there was a review of the troops, to which I went, in company with Timagenes, Apollodorus, and Philotas. We there saw Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, Chabrias, all the old generals, and those for the present year. The latter had been drawn by lot, according to custom, in the assembly of the people. They were ten in number, one chosen from each tribe [k]. This brings to my mind a remark of Philip of Macedon: "I envy the good fortune of the Athenians," said he: "they find ten men every year able to command their armies, whilst I could never find any one but Parmenio to head mine [l]."

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[e] Aristoph. ap. Harpocr. in Θῆτ. Sam. Pet. p. 546.

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 389.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 393.

[h] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 556, &c.

[i] Id. in Pac. v. 1183. Schol. ibid.

[k] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50. Aristot. et Hyper. ap. Harpocr. in Στρατηγοί. Plut. in Cim. p. 483; et alii.

[l] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

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Formerly the command devolved alternately on the ten strategi. Every day the army had a new general [m]; and when the council was divided, the polemarch, one of the chief magistrates of the republic, possessed the right to decide the question by his voice [n]. On this day the whole authority is, generally speaking, in the hands of one man, who is obliged, at his return, to give an account of what he has done, unless previously invested with unlimited power [o]. The other generals remain at Athens, with no other function than that of appearing at public ceremonies [p].

The infantry [q] was composed of three orders: the oplitæ, or heavy armed soldiers; the light armed; and the peltastæ, whose arms were neither so weighty as those of the former, nor so slight as those of the latter [r].

The defensive armour of the oplitæ consisted of the helmet, the cuirass, the buckler, and a sort of buskins that covered the fore part of the leg; their offensive weapons were the lance and sword [s].

The light armed troops were to cast javelins or darts; and some to throw stones with the sling or hand. The peltastæ carried a spear and a small shield called the pelta.

The shields, almost all made of willow [t], or even of osier, were ornamented with colours, emblems, and inscriptions [u]. I saw some on which these words were written in golden letters, TO GOOD FORTUNE [x]; and others on which some officers had painted symbols alluding to their character or taste. As I passed on, I overheard an old man saying to his companions, I was in that unfortunate expedition into Sicily, fifty-three

[m] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 110. Plut. in Aristi. t. i. p. 321.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 109.
[o] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Suid. in Ἀθῆναι.
[p] Demosth Philipp. i. p. 51.
[q] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.
[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 10. Ælian. Tact. cap. 2.
[s] Suid. in Ὅπλα.
[t] Thucyd. lib 4. cap. 9. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 133. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 518.
[u] Æschyl. Sept. Cont. Theb. v. 393, &c.
[x] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 855.

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years ago. I served under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. You have heard of the riches of the first, and of the valour and beauty of the second; the third possessed a courage proper to inspire terror. The buckler of Nicias was decorated with gold and purple [1], that of Lamachus represented a gorgon's head [2]; and that of Alcibiades had on it a Cupid darting thunder [3].

I was wishing to hear the rest of this conversation, but was interrupted by the arrival of Iphicrates, to whom Apollodorus had been recounting the adventures of Timagenes and myself. After the first salutations, Timagenes complimented him on the changes he had introduced into the armour of the oplites. They were necessary, answered Iphicrates: the phalanx, oppressed with the weight of their arms, could scarcely perform the necessary motions; and were better fitted to resist, than act offensively against the enemy. The metal cuirass is exchanged for one of canvass, and a small and light buckler is substituted for those enormous shields, which, while they protected the body, prevented the soldier from acting. The spear is lengthened one third; and the sword is half as long again as formerly. The soldier fastens and unbinds the armour of his legs with more facility [b]. I was particularly desirous of rendering the oplites more formidable, for they are in an army what the breast is to the human body. As Iphicrates had no objection to display his eloquence, he pursued his simile, comparing the general to the head, the cavalry to the feet, and the light troops to the hands [c]. Timagenes asked him why he had not adopted the Bœotian helmet which covers the neck, extending even over the cuirass [d]. This question led to many others on the manual exercise of the troops, as well as on the Greek and Persian tactics. I in

[1] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 134.
[2] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 573. Schol. ibid.
[3] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 369. Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1.
[c] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.
[d] Xenoph. de Re Equest. p. 952.

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the mean time interrogated Apollodorus on many subjects, which will be explained by his answers.

Under the ten strategi, said he, there are the same number of taxiarchs, who, like the former, are annually appointed by lot, and drawn from each tribe in the general assembly [e]. It is their duty, under the direction of the generals, to provide the army with necessaries, to regulate the order of its marches, superintend its encampment [f], maintain discipline, and take care that the arms are in good order. Occasionally they command the right wing [g], and the general sometimes dispatches them to carry the news of a victory, and give a particular account of what passed in the battle [h].

At this moment we saw a man clothed in a tunic [i] reaching to his knees, and over which he should have worn his cuirass, which he held in his hands, with his other arms. On his approaching the taxiarch of his tribe, near to whom we were, Comrade, said that officer to him, why do not you put on your cuirass? He answered, The time of my service is expired; I was ploughing my field when you called over the names yesterday. I was enrolled in the militia under the archonship of Callias; look at your list of archons [k], and you will see that upwards of forty-two years have elapsed since that period. Nevertheless, if my country stands in need of me, I have brought my arms. The officer having examined, found that what he said was true, and, after conferring with the general, effaced the name of this worthy citizen, and substituted another [l].

The places of the ten taxiarchs are of that kind of public employments which men are more anxious to possess, than scrupulously to discharge their duties. Most of them avoid

[e] Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 50. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 54.
[f] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 5. Pott. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 5.
[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 352.
[h] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 5. p. 347. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 37.
[k] Demosth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπώνυμ.
[l] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1181. Lys. pro Mil. p. 161.

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following the army, and their functions are divided among the chiefs whom the general places at the head of divisions and subdivisions [m]. They are pretty numerous. Some have the command of 128 men, others of 256, 512, and 1024 [n], following a proportion unlimited in ascending, but which in descending ends in a term that may be considered as the element or basis of the different divisions of the phalanx. This element is the file, sometimes composed of eight men, but oftener of sixteen [o].

Here I interrupted Apollodorus, to show him a man with a crown upon his head, and a caduceus in his hand [p]. I have already, said I, seen several of these pass by. They are heralds, answered he. Their persons are sacred, and their functions important; they proclaim war, propose a truce or peace [q], publish the orders of the general [r], give out orders, assemble the army [s], declare the time of departure, the place of destination, and how many days provision will be necessary [t]. If at the moment of attack or retreat the voice of the herald is overpowered by the tumult, signals are hoisted [u]; if the dust prevents them from being seen, the trumpet is sounded [x], and all these methods failing, an aid de camp flies from rank to rank to carry the commands of the general [y].

At this instant, some young men, passing with the utmost rapidity, had nearly thrown down several grave personages who were marching with slow and solemn steps. The first, said Apollodorus, are messengers [z]; the latter, soothsayers: two kinds of men often employed in our armies; the one, to

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[m] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 10.

[n] Arrian. Tact. p. 28. Ælian. Tact. cap. 4.

[o] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 515. Arrian. Tact. p. 18. Ælian. Tact. cap. 7.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 53.

[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc lib. 4. p. 533. Id. Exped. Cyr lib. 5. p 366.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 317. Id. de Laced. Rep. p. 686.

[s] Id. Exped. lib. 3. p. 299.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 312. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 450.

[u] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 63. Suid. in Σημ. Ælian. Tact. cap. 34.

[x] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 319; et alii.

[y] Suid. in Ἔκτακτ. Guisch. Tact. d'Arrien. t. ii. p. 169.

[z] Suid. in Ἡμεροδρ. Harpocr. in Δωμοκ.

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carry the orders of the general to a distance; the other, to examine the entrails of the victims, and declare from them the will of the gods [a].

Thus, said I, among the Greeks, the operations of a campaign depend on the interest and ignorance of these pretended interpreters of the commands of heaven. Too often, replied he. Yet, admitting that superstition has introduced them among us, it is not perhaps impolitic to retain them. Our soldiers are free men, and brave, but impatient, and incapable of submitting to the prudent delays of a general, who, unable to prevail on them to listen to reason, has frequently no other resource but to make the gods speak.

As we were walking around the phalanx, I observed that each general officer had by his side a subaltern who never quitted him. He is his shield-bearer [b], said Apollodorus. He is obliged to follow him into the heat of the battle, and, on certain occasions, to take charge of his buckler [c]. Every oplites, or heavy armed soldier, has likewise an attendant [d], who, among other functions, executes that of shield-bearer [e]; but care is taken to send him back to the baggage before the engagement [f]. With us, dishonour lies in the loss of the buckler [g], and not of the sword or other offensive weapons. Why this difference, said I? To give us a momentous lesson, answered he; to teach us to think less of spilling the blood of the enemy, than of preventing them from shedding ours [h], thus intimating that war should rather be deemed a state of defence than of attack.

We next went to the Lyceum, to see the cavalry reviewed. The command of it belongs of right to two generals named Hipparchs, and ten particular officers called Phylarchs;

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[a] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 972. Id. Exped. Cyr. et alii.

[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 194.

[c] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 321.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 177.

[e] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 10.

[f] Ælian. Tact. cap. 5. Arrian. Tact. p. 73.

[g] Æschin. in Tim. p. 264. Lys. in Theomn. p. 174. Andoc. de Myst. p. 19.

[h] Plut. in Pelop. t. 1. p. 278.

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both of which are annually drawn by lot in the assembly of the people [j].

Some Athenians are early enrolled in this body, as almost all the others are in the infantry. It consists only of twelve hundred men [k], each tribe furnishing one hundred and twenty, with the officer who is to command them [l]. The number actually employed is usually regulated by that of the heavy armed soldiers; and the proportion, which varies according to circumstances, is often that of one to ten; that is to say, two hundred horse are added to two thousand oplites [m].

It is not above a century, said Apollodorus, that we have had any cavalry in our armies. It is numerous in Thessaly, because that country abounds in pasturage. The other districts of Greece are so dry and sterile, as to make it difficult to rear horses; for which reason none but the rich enter into the cavalry [n]; and hence the respect and honour annexed to that service [o].

No person can obtain admission into this corps without the previous consent of the generals, the particular officers, and especially of the senate, who pay extraordinary attention to the maintenance and splendour of so distinguished a body of men [p]. They are now attending at the inspection of new levies.

The soldiers appeared before them with a helmet, cuirass, buckler, sword, lance or javelin, a small cloak, &c. Whilst they were proceeding to the examination of the arms, Timagenes, who had made every thing relative to the military art his particular study, said to us, A cuirass too wide, or too strait, becomes either an insupportable weight, or binds and

j Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 50.
k Andoc. Orat de Pace, p. 24. Suid. in Ἱππεῖς.
l Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 94. Harpocr. in Φυλ.
m Demosth. ibid. Xenoph. Hist. Graec. lib. 1. p. 440.
n Xenoph. de Re Equestr. p. 935.
o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 365.
p Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 955. Lycurg. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ.

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confines the body [q]. The helmet ſhould be ſo contrived as to ſuffer the horſeman occaſionally to draw it down over the middle of his face. The left arm ſhould be defended by the armour lately invented, which eaſily ſtretching and folding up, wholly covers that part of the body from the ſhoulder to the hand. On the right arm ſhould be worn leather arm-pieces, and braſs plates; and in certain places calves ſkin, care being taken that theſe means of defence do not confine the motions of the body; the legs and feet ſhould be defended by leathern boots [r], provided with ſpurs [s]. The ſabre is juſtly preferred to the ſword for horſemen. Inſtead of thoſe long lances, ſo brittle and heavy, that you ſee uſed by moſt of our ſoldiers, I ſhould like better two ſmall pikes of the ſorbus wood, the one to throw, the other for defence [t]. The head and breaſt of the horſe ſhould be protected by armour, and his flanks and belly by cloths ſpread on his back, on which the rider may be ſeated [u].

Though the Athenian cavalry had not adopted all the improvements Timagenes had ſuggeſted, yet he was tolerably well ſatisfied with the manner in which they were armed. The ſenators and general officers diſmiſſed ſome who did not appear to have ſufficient ſtrength of body [x], and reproached others with neglecting their arms. They next examined whether the horſes were eaſy to mount [y], docile to the bit, and capable of ſupporting fatigue [z]; whether they were not vicious [a], too fiery, or too tame [b]. Several of them were found faulty and rejected; and to prevent any of the old or infirm ones from ever again being introduced, they were marked on the jaw with a hot iron [c].

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[q] Xenoph. de Re Equeſtr. p. 952.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 953.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 944.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 953.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 952. et de Magiſt. Equit. p. 968.
[x] Id. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 955.
[y] Id de Re Equeſtr. p. 936.
[z] Id. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 954.
[a] Id. de Re Equeſtr. p. 937.
[b] Id. ibid p. 947.
[c] Heſych. et Etym. Τρυσίτ. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 4. p. 1517.

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During the course of this examination, the soldiers of one of the tribes advanced with loud clamours, to accuse to the senate one of their comrades, who, a few years before, in the heat of action, had passed from the infantry into the cavalry, without the permission of the officers. The offence being public, and the law express [d], he was sentenced to that species of infamy which deprives a citizen of the greater part of his privileges.

The same penalty is inflicted on the citizen who refuses to serve [e] unless compelled by the courts of justice [f]. It is incurred likewise by the soldier who flies at sight of the enemy, or, to avoid danger, escapes into a less exposed rank [g]. In all these cases, the offender is excluded from the general assembly and public sacrifices; and should he appear, each citizen is entitled to commence a prosecution against him. The punishments for such delinquencies are different; and if it be a pecuniary fine, he is thrown into prison till he pays it.

Treason is punished with death [h], as is desertion [i]; for to desert is to betray the state [k]. The general has the power of degrading to an inferior rank, and even of employing in the meanest functions, the officer who dishonours himself, or is guilty of disobedience [l].

Such rigorous laws, said I, must certainly maintain a sense of honour and subordination in your armies. Apollodorus answered: A state which ceases to protect its laws, can no longer expect to be protected by them. The most essential of all, that which obliges each citizen personally to defend his country, is every day shamefully violated. The wealthiest procure themselves to be enregistered in the cavalry, and a-

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[d] Lys. in Alcib. 1. p 276 et 282. Id. in Alcib. 2. p. 299. Lys. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ. Demosth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 148.

[e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Timocr. p. 789.

[f] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 955.

[g] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 456. Lys. in Alcib. 1. p. 275 et 278.

[h] Lys. in Philon. p. 498.

[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.

[k] Suid. et Hesych. in Αὐτόμολ.

[l] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 957. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 556.

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void service, either by voluntary contributions [m], or by finding a substitute, whom they furnish with a horse [n]. We shall soon have no more Athenians in our armies. You saw a small number indeed enrolled yesterday, but they have been just associated with a band of mercenaries, to whom we blush not to confide the safety of the republic. For some time past a set of daring chiefs have arisen in Greece, who, after collecting soldiers of all nations, fly from country to country, with death and desolation in their train, prostituting their valour to the power that pays them, and equally ready to turn their arms against it on the slightest discontent [o]. Such, at this day, are the resources and the hope of Athens. No sooner is war declared, than the people, accustomed to the sweets of peace, and dreading the fatigues of a campaign, exclaim with one voice, Send for ten thousand, or twenty thousand foreigners [p]. Our ancestors would have shuddered at these disgraceful clamours; but abuse has become custom, and that custom law.

However, said I, if among these venal troops you could find some capable of discipline, by incorporating them with your own, you would compel them to keep a mutual watch over each other, and possibly produce an useful emulation [q]. If our virtues stand in need of spectators, answered he, why go in search of them out of the limits of the republic? By an admirable institution, the members of a tribe or district are enrolled in the same cohort, the same squadron; they march, they fight by the side of their relations, their friends, their neighbours, their rivals. What soldier would dare to commit an act of cowardice in the presence of such formidable wit-

[m] Demosth. in Mid. p. 629. Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 972.

[n] Pot. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 3.

[o] Demosth in Aristocr. p. 747. Id. Philip. 1. p. 50. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 384. Id. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 278. Id. Epist. 2. ad Philip. ibid. p. 457. Id. Epist. ad Archid. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 334. Polyæn. Strag. lib. 3. cap 10. § 9.

[p] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 50.

[q] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 975.

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neſſes? How, at his return, could he bear the ſight of men ever ready to covet him with confuſion?

After Apollodorus had expatiated on the ſcandalous luxury which the officers, and even the generals, were beginning to introduce into the army [r], I deſired him to inform me of the pay of the foot ſoldiers and cavalry. That, anſwered Apollodorus, has varied according to times and circumſtances. I have heard old men, who ſerved ſixty-eight years ago at the ſiege of Potidæa, ſay, that the pay of the oplites, for himſelf and attendants [s], was two drachmas a day *; but this was a ſingular inſtance, and exhauſted the public treaſury. About twenty years after, the republic was obliged to diſmiſs a body of light troops that had been ſent for from Thrace, becauſe they required the half of this pay [t].

The ordinary pay of the oplites, at preſent, is four oboli, or twenty drachmas a month † [u]. Twice this ſum is uſually given to the leader of a cohort, and quadruple to the general [x]. This ſum is ſometimes reduced, from peculiar circumſtances, to one half [y]; in which caſe it is preſumed that this is ſufficient to procure a bare ſubſiſtence for the foot ſoldier, and that his ſhare of booty will make up the deficiency.

The pay of the horſemen, in time of war, is, according to circumſtances, double [z], triple [a], nay even quadruple [b] to that of the foot ſoldier. In peace, when there is no longer any pay, he receives, for the maintenance of his horſe, ſixteen drachmas a month ‡, which makes an annual expenditure of about forty talents § for the public treaſury [c].

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[r] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 625. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 17.

* 1 livre 16 ſols (or 18 pence).

[t] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 27. p. 461.

† About 12 ſols (or 6 pence) a day; 18 livres (or 15 ſhillings) monthly.

[u] Theopomp. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 64. Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 952. Id. in Odyſſ. p. 1805.

[x] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 402 et 413.

[y] Demoſth. Philip. 1. p. 51.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47.

[a] Demoſth. ibid.

[b] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 556.

‡ About 14 livres 8 ſols (or 12 ſhillings).

§ About 216,000 livres (or 9000l. Sterling).

[c] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 956. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 552.

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Apollodorus was never wearied with satisfying my curiosity. The soldiers, before they march, said he, are ordered to lay in provisions for some days [d]. It is then the business of the generals to provide the markets with every thing necessary [e]. The baggage is conveyed in covered waggons, on beasts of burden and by slaves. Sometimes the soldiers are themselves obliged to carry it [f].

You wish to know the practice of the Greeks respecting the spoils taken from the enemy. The right of disposing them, or making a distribution, has always been considered as one of the prerogatives of the general. During the Trojan war they were laid at his feet; one part he reserved for himself, and divided the remainder either among the chiefs or soldiers [g]. Eight hundred years after, the generals regulated the partition of the spoils taken from the Persians after the battle of Platæa. They were shared among the soldiers, after setting apart a certain portion to decorate the temples of Greece, and decreeing proportionable rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in the action [h].

From that period to our time, the Grecian generals have been seen to dispose of the sums arising from the sale of the plunder; sometimes depositing them in the public treasury [i]; at others assigning them to defray the expence of public works [k], or the decoration of temples [l]; enriching their friends or soldiers with them [m]; adding them to their own wealth [n],

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d Aristoph. Acharn. v. 196. Schol. ibid. Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

e Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762.

f Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 303, &c.

g Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 330. Odyss. lib. 9. v. 39; lib. 14. v. 232.

h Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 331.

i This is what was done sometimes by CIMON. Plut. p 484 et 487; by TIMOTHEUS, Nep. in Tim. c. 1; by LYSANDER, Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 225. Plut. in Lys. p. 442.

k CIMON, Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Nep. in Cim. cap. 2.

l Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 114.

m MYRONIDES, Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 63. AGESILAUS, Nep. in Ages. cap. 3. Plut. in Ages. p. 601. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 654. IPHICRATES, Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 3.

n CIMON, Plut. et Nep. ut supra.

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or at leaſt appropriating to themſelves the third, which in certain countries is regularly aſſigned them by conſtant uſage[o].

With us there is no law to reſtrain the prerogative of the general who avails himſelf of it as he happens to be more or leſs diſintereſted. All that the ſtate requires of him is, that the troops may live, if poſſible, at the expence of the enemy, and find in the diviſion of the ſpoils a ſupplement to their pay, when it becomes neceſſary to diminiſh it from motives of œconomy.

The following days were ſet apart for the exerciſe of the troops. I ſhall not attempt to ſpeak of all the manœuvres to which I was a witneſs; my deſcription would be but imperfect, and uſeleſs to thoſe for whom I am writing: the following are only a few general obſervations.

Near Mount Ancheſmus, we found a body of ſixteen hundred heavy armed infantry, drawn up ſixteen deep and one hundred in front, each ſoldier occupying[p] the ſpace of four cubits*. To them was added another body of light armed troops.

The beſt men were placed in the firſt and laſt ranks[q]. The commanders of the files eſpecially, as well as thoſe at each end, were all of them men diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and experience[r]. One of the officers gave the word of command. Take up your arms, cried he[s]: Followers, leave the phalanx: Raiſe your pikes: Lower your pikes: File-leader, dreſs the files: Take your diſtances: To the right about: To the left about[t]: The pike within your buckler[u]: March[x]: Halt: Double your files: Recover your poſition: The Lacedæmonian evolution: Recover your poſition, &c.

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* Cleomenes, Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 147.

* Ælian. Tact. cap. 11.

[p] 5 feet 8 inches French (or 6 feet Engliſh, nearly).

[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762.

[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 20 et 33. Ælian. Tact. cap. 5.

[s] Arrian. ibid. p. 73. Ælian. Tact. cap. 51 et 53.

[t] Theophr. Charact. Περὶ Ὀψιμαθ.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 388. Schol. ibid.

[x] Arrian. Ælian. ut ſupra.

At the word of comand, we saw the phalanx successively open its files and ranks, close and compress them, so that the soldier occupying only the space of one cubit *, was no longer able to move either to the right or left [y]. Now we saw it form a close line, and now divided into sections, the intervals of which were occasionally occupied by light troops [z]; and, at length, by means of certain evolutions, assuming all the forms of which it was capable, marching forward in a column, in a perfect or oblong square, either with a hollow or solid centre, &c [a].

During these manœuvres, blows were frequently given to untractable or negligent soldiers [b]. This surprised me the more, as among the Athenians it is not permitted to strike even a slave [c]. Hence I concluded, that dishonour in polished nations often depends more on arbitrary circumstances, than on the real nature of things.

These evolutions were scarcely finished, before we discovered a cloud of dust arising at a distance, and the advanced posts [d] announced the approach of the enemy. This was a second body of infantry that had been exercising at the Lyceum [e], and which had been sent by its commanders to make an attack upon the former, to exhibit the representation of a battle [f]. The shout, To arms, was instantly given; the soldiers flew to their ranks, and the light troops took their station in the rear; whence they pour on the enemy [g] arrows darts and stones, which pass over the heads of the phalanx †.

Meanwhile the enemy were advancing with redoubled speed [h], carrying their pikes on the right shoulder. Their

* 18 inches.

[y] Arrian. Tact. p. 32. Ælian. Tact. cap. 11.

[z] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 353.

[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 304. Traduct. de M. le Comte de la Luzerne, p. 407. t. i. Arrian. Tact. p. 69.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 368.

[c] Id. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[d] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 2. p. 278.

[e] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 355. Schol. ibid. in v. 353.

[f] Onosand. Inst. cap. 10. p. 34.

[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 6. p. 167. Arrian. Tact. p. 20.

† Onosander (Inst. cap. 10.) says, that in these mock fights the oplitæ had staves and leathern straps; the light-armed troops, pellets or clods of earth

[h] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 387.

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light troops approached [i] with loud ſhouts, were repulſed, put to flight, and ſucceeded by the oplitæ, who halted at the diſtance of the flight of a javelin. A profound ſilence now reigned through both lines [k]. Preſently the trumpet gave the ſignal. The ſoldiers ſang the hymn of battle in honour of Mars [l]; and lowered their pikes, ſome ſtriking their bucklers with them [m]. The whole body ran forward in a line, and in perfect order. To increaſe their ardour, the general gave the ſhout of battle [n], while they a thouſand times repeated after him, ELELEU, ELELELEU [o]! The action now appeared very animated; the enemy were diſperſed, and we heard the word ALALE * ! which is the ſhout of victory [p], re-echoed on all ſides through our little army.

Our light troops went in purſuit of the enemy [q], and brought in ſeveral priſoners. The victorious ſoldiers prepared a trophy, and, ranging themſelves in order of battle, in front of an adjoining camp, laid down their arms, but in ſuch order as to be found all ready formed on taking them up [r]. They then retired into the camp; where, after taking a ſlight repaſt, they paſſed the night on beds of leaves [s].

None of the precautions obſerved in the time of war were neglected. No fires were made in the camp [t]; but ſome were lighted in the front to diſcover any attempts of the enemy [u]. Evening ſentinels were poſted [x], and relieved at the

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i Ælian. Tact. cap. 17.

k Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 8.

l Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 474. Id. Exped. lib. 4. p. 324, 326, &c.

m Id. Exped. lib. 1. p. 265. Poll. lib. 1. cap 10. § 163

n Xenoph. ap. Demet. Phaler. c. 98.

o Id. Exped. lib. 1 p. 265 Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 363. Schol. ibid. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἐλελεῦ.

* In ancient times, the laſt letter of the word *Alalé* was pronounced like the French *i* (Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.) To adapt this obſervation to the Engliſh mode of pronouncing the vowels, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to deſire the reader to ſubſtitute *a* for *e* in the firſt inſtance, and *ee* for *i* in the ſecond.

p Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 954, et 1761. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Ἀλαλ.

q Xenoph. Exped. lib 6. p. 387.

r Traduction de l'Expédition de Cyrus, par M. le Comte de la Luzerne, t. i. p 221.

s Polyæn. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 19. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. p 1678. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 347.

t Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 842.

u Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 387.

x Id. Exped. lib. 7. p. 406.

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different watches of the night [y]. The round was often made by an officer carrying a little bell [z], at the ſound of which the ſentinel pronounced the order or watch word. This word is a token, changed from time to time, to diſtinguiſh thoſe of the ſame party. It is communicated to the officers and ſoldiers before a battle, to enable them to rally in the heat of action; and before night, that they may know each other in the dark [a]. The general gives it; and the greateſt mark of diſtinction he has it in his power to grant, is to concede this privilege to another [b]. The following formularies are frequently employed: JUPITER SAVIOUR AND HERCULES CONDUCTOR [c]; JUPITER SAVIOUR AND VICTORY; MINERVA-PALLAS; THE SUN AND MOON; SWORD AND DAGGER [d].

Iphicrates, who had never quitted us, told us that he had ſuppreſſed the uſe of the bell in going the rounds; and, the better to conceal the word from the enemy, gave out two different ones for the officer and the ſentinel, ſo that one, for inſtance, anſwered, JUPITER SAVIOUR; the other, NEPTUNE [e].

Iphicrates was of opinion that the camp ſhould be defended by a circumvallation. That is a precaution, ſaid he, which ſhould be conſtantly obſerved, and which I never neglected, even when in a friendly country [f].

You ſee thoſe beds of leaves, added he. Sometimes I order one only to be made for two ſoldiers, at others each ſoldier has two. I then quit my camp; the enemy comes, numbers my beds, and ſuppoſing me at the head of more or fewer forces than I really have, either does not venture to attack me, or does it to diſadvantage [g].

I maintain vigilance among my troops, by privately exciting panic terrors, by frequent alarms, and ſometimes by a

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[y] Id. ibid. lib. 4 p. 316.

[z] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 843 et 1160. Schol. ibid. Ulpian. in Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 377.

[a] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 386; lib. 7. p. 406.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 407.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 386.

[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 264. Æneas, Comment. cap. 24.

[e] Æneas, ibid.

[f] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 17.

[g] Id. ibid. § 19.

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falſe rumour of treachery, of an ambuſcade, or of a reinforcement received by the enemy [h].

To prevent a pernicious idleneſs in times of tranquillity, I employ my men to dig trenches, cut down trees, and remove the camp and baggage from place to place [i].

But above all, I endeavour to lead them by the incentive of honour. One day, when on the point of engaging, I obſerved ſome ſoldiers turn pale; I immediately ſaid aloud: If any of you has forgotten any thing in camp let him go back and return as quick as poſſible. The cowards availing themſelves of the permiſſion, I then exclaimed, The ſlaves have diſappeared; none remain with us but the brave. We marched, and the enemy took to flight [k].

Iphicrates related to us many ſuch ſtratagems, which had been attended with ſimilar ſucceſs. We withdrew towards the middle of the night. On the next, and ſeveral ſucceeding days, we ſaw the cavalry exerciſe at the Lyceum and near the Academy [l]: they were trained to vault on horſe-back without aid [m], to throw javelins [n], leap ditches, climb eminences, and ride along declivities [o]; to attack and purſue each other [p], and to perform various kinds of evolutions, now ſeparately, and afterward in conjunction with the infantry.

Timagenes ſaid to me, However excellent this cavalry may be, they will be beaten if they come to action with that of the Thebans. They admit but a ſmall number of ſlingers and javelin men into the intervals of their line; the Thebans have three times as many, and employ none but Theſſalians, who are ſuperior in this ſpecies of attack to all the nations of Greece. The event juſtified the prediction of Timagenes [q].

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[h] Id. ibid. § 32.
[i] Id. ibid. § 35.
[k] Id. ibid. § 1.
[l] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 959, &c.
[m] Id. ibid. p 954.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 954 et 956.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 966; et de Re Equeſt. p. 936.
[p] Id. de Re Equeſt. p. 951.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394.

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The army prepared for its departure. Many families were in consternation. The sentiments of nature and of love now began to revive with redoubled energy in the hearts of wives and mothers. Whilst they were thus abandoning themselves to their fears, the ambassadors lately arrived from Lacedæmon, entertained us with accounts of the courage which the Spartan women had displayed on such occasions. A young soldier, showing his sword to his mother, said, It is very short. Well then, replied she, you have only to advance a step farther [r]. Another Lacedæmonian woman, while giving her son his shield [s], said to him, Return with this, or upon this [*].

The troops were present at the festival of Bacchus, and on the last day we witnessed a ceremony which the circumstances of the moment rendered peculiarly interesting. The senate, the army, and a prodigious number of citizens of all ranks, and foreigners from every country were spectators of it. At the end of the last tragedy, we saw a herald make his appearance on the stage, followed by several young orphans clad in glittering armour. He advanced in order to present them to this august assembly; and, with a firm and sonorous voice, slowly pronounced these words: "Behold these young men whose fathers were slain in battle after bravely fighting. The people who adopted them have taken care of their education until their twentieth year. This day they give them a complete suit of armour; they return them to their homes, and assign them the first places at our public spectacles [t]." Every heart felt the liveliest emotion. The troops shed tears of sensibility and joy, and on the next day began their march.

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[r] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.

[s] Arist. ap. Stob. serm. 7. p. 88. Plut. ibid. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 181.

[*] At Sparta, to lose the shield was dishonourable in the highest degree; and it was on their shields that the dead bodies of soldiers were brought from the field of battle.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 46. Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 248. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Lesbon. in Protrept. p. 172. Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55.

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CHAP. XI.

The Theatre *.

I HAVE just been to see a tragedy; and, in the confused state of my ideas, hastily commit to paper the impressions it has made upon me.

The theatre opened at break of day [u]: I went thither with Philotas. Nothing can be so majestic as the first view. On one side we see the stage ornamented with scenes executed by the ablest artists; and on the other, a vast amphitheatre lined with seats rising one above the other to a very great height; with landing-places and stairs, which, lengthened out, and intersecting each other at intervals, facilitate the communication, and divide the seats into several compartments, some of which are reserved for particular communities and classes of citizens.

The people flocked hither in crowds; they kept coming and going, ascending, descending, shouting, laughing, pressing and pushing each other, and braving the officers, who were running about on all sides to maintain order [x]. Amid this tumult, the nine archons, or chief magistrates of the republic, the courts of justice [y], the senate of five hundred, the general officers of the army [z], the ministers of the altars [a] successively arrived. These different bodies occupied the lower seats: above them were placed all the young men who had attained their eighteenth year [b]. The women were stationed in a place that kept them at a distance from the men and the courtezans [c].

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* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the first day of the greater Dionysia, or grand festivals of Bacchus, which, according to Dodwell, always began on the 12th of Elaphebolion, fell on the 8th of April of the year 362 before Christ.

[u] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 825. Æschin. i Ctesiph. p. 440.

[x] Demosth. in Mid. p. 631. Ulpian. ibid. p. 688. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 733.

[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 121.

[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Casaub. ibid. p. 51.

[a] Hesych. in Νομοφ.

[b] Poll. ibid. § 122. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 795.

[c] Aristoph. Eccles. v. 22. Schol. ibid.

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The orcheſtra was empty. That was ſet apart for emulative conteſts in poetry, muſic, and dancing, which take place after the repreſentation of the pieces; for here all the arts are united to gratify all taſtes.

I ſaw ſome Athenians who had purple carpets ſpread under their feet, and were luxurioufly lolling on cuſhions brought thither by their ſlaves [d]; others, who, before and during the repreſentation, called for wine, fruit, and biſcuits [e]; others again, who briſkly ſtepped upon the benches to chooſe a commodious place, and take it from the perſon then occupying it [f]. They have a right ſo to do, ſaid Philotas. It is a diſtinction they have received from the republic, as a recompence for ſervices.

Obſerving that I was aſtoniſhed at the number of ſpectators, he told me they might amount to about thirty thouſand [g]. The ſolemnity of theſe feſtivals, ſaid he, attracts people from all parts of Greece, and diffuſes a ſpirit of delirium among the inhabitants of this city. For many days you will ſee them neglect all buſineſs, deny themſelves ſleep, and ſpend part of the day here, without ever being ſatiated with the variety of exhibitions. This pleaſure has double charms for them, as they but ſeldom taſte it. The competition of dramatic pieces takes place only at two other feſtivals. But authors reſerve all their efforts for this. We are promiſed ſeven or eight new pieces [h]. Do not be ſurpriſed: every man in Greece who writes for the theatre is anxious to offer us the homage of his talents [i]. Beſides, we ſometimes revive the pieces of our ancient authors; and the liſts are about to be opened with the Antigone of Sophocles. You will have

d Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440. Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.

e Philoch. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 464.

f Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 572. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Προῖς.

g Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 173 et 175.

h Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 785. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 181.

i Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 183.

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the pleasure of hearing two excellent actors, Theodorus and Aristodemus [k].

Philotas had scarcely ended, before a herald, after commanding silence [l], proclaimed: Let the chorus of Sophocles advance [m]. This was to announce the piece, and a perfect silence ensued. The theatre represented the vestibule of the palace of Creon, king of Thebes [n]. Antigone and Ismene, daughters of Œdipus, opened the scene in masks. Their declamation appears natural, said I; but their voice surprises me. What are the names of these two actresses?—Theodorus and Aristodemus, answered Philotas; for here no women appear on the stage [o]. A moment after, a chorus of aged Thebans entered, arranged three in front and five deep, walking with measured steps, and celebrating, in melodious songs, the victory just gained by the Thebans over Polynices, brother of Antigone.

The plot now insensibly unfolded. Every thing I saw and heard was so novel to me, that my attention increased each instant with my surprise. Hurried along by the enchantment that surrounded me, I seemed to be in the midst of Thebes. I beheld Antigone pay the tribute of funeral duties to Polynices, in despite of the rigorous prohibition of Creon. I saw the tyrant, deaf to the prayers of his son, the virtuous Hæmon, whom she was on the point of espousing, order her to be violently dragged into a dark cavern, which appeared at the bottom of the stage [p], and which was to become her tomb. Presently, terrified with the menaces of heaven, he advanced towards the cavern, whence issued the most dreadful groans. They were the groans of his son, holding in close embrace the wretched Antigone, who had terminated her miseries by the fatal knot. The presence of Creon irritates his fury: he

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k Demosth. in Fals. Leg. p. 331.

l Ulpian. in Demosth. p. 687.

m Aristoph. Acharn, v. 11. Schol. ibid.

n Soph. in Antig. v. 18. Argum. Aristoph. Grammat. ibid.

o Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5. Lucian. de Salt. cap. 28. t. ii. p. 285.

p Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 124.

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draws his ſword againſt his father; then piercing himſelf with it, falls at the feet of his miſtreſs, in whoſe arms he remains locked till he expires.

Almoſt all theſe tragic events paſſed as it were before my eyes, or rather a happy diſtance mitigated their horror. What then is that art that makes me at once experience ſo much pain and pleaſure; that ſtrongly fixes my attention on calamities, which, if realized, it would be impoſſible for me to ſupport? What a marvellous combination of illuſions and realities! I flew to the aid of the two lovers; I deteſted the remorſeleſs author of their ſorrows. The moſt violent paſſions rent my ſoul, without tormenting it; and for the firſt time I found charms even in hatred.

Thirty thouſand ſpectators, melting into tears, redoubled my emotion and delirium. How intereſting did the princeſs appear, when, by the relentleſs guards dragged towards the cavern, her lofty and unconquerable ſoul, yielding to the imperious voice of Nature, for a ſingle moment ſeemed to confeſs weakneſs, and gave utterance to theſe plaintive accents:

"Muſt I then, while yet alive, ſlowly deſcend into the manſions of the dead [q]? Shall I no more behold the light of heaven [r]? O tomb, O funeral bed, eternal habitation [s]! There remains for me but one hope: thou wilt ſerve me as a paſſage to rejoin my family, that diſaſtrous family, of which I periſh the laſt and the moſt wretched [t]. Again ſhall I behold the authors of my being; and they ſhall again behold me with pleaſure. And thou, Polynices, O my brother! thou ſhalt know that, to perform towards thee the duties preſcribed by nature and religion, I have ſacrificed my youth, my life, my nuptials, and whatever was deareſt to me in the world. Alas! all abandon me in this calamitous moment. The Thebans inſult my ſorrows [u]. I have not a friend from whom I can

[q] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 932.
[r] Id. ibid. v. 891.
[s] Id. ibid. v. 903.
[t] Id. ibid. v. 907.
[u] Id. ibid. v. 850.

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obtain a tear [x]. I hear death who calls me, and the gods are silent [y]. What are my crimes? If my piety was a crime, I ought to expiate it by my death. If my enemies are guilty, I wish them no more dreadful punishments than those I suffer [z]."

The prize is not to be adjudged till after the representation of all the pieces. That of Sophocles was followed by some others, to which I had no longer the power to listen. I had no more tears to shed, no more attention to bestow.

In this chapter, I have copied the very words of my journal. I shall describe elsewhere every thing relative to the dramatic art, and the other spectacles which give such splendour to the Dionysiac festivals.

CHAP. XII.

Description of Athens.

THERE is not a city in Greece which presents us with so vast a number of public buildings and monuments as Athens. Edifices venerable for their antiquity, or admirable for their elegance, raise their majestic heads on all sides. Masterpieces of sculpture are extremely numerous even in the public places, and concur with the finest productions of the pencil, to embellish the porticos and temples. Here every thing is animate, every thing speaks to the eyes of the attentive spectator. The history of the monuments of this people would form the history of their warlike achievements, their gratitude, and religious worship.

It is neither my intention minutely to describe them, nor do I pretend to communicate to the minds of my readers the impressions made on mine by these beautiful works of art.

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[x] Id. ibid. v. 894.
[y] Id. ibid. v. 945.
[z] Id. ibid. v. 940.

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It is a ſource of the higheſt pleaſure to a traveller, to have enjoyed a number of pleaſing and lively emotions, the remembrance of which is perpetually recurring during the courſe of his whole life; but it is impoſſible for him to participate them with thoſe, who never having experienced the ſame ſenſations, are always more intereſted in the recital of his ſufferings than in the narrative of his pleaſures. I ſhall imitate thoſe guides who ſhow to ſtrangers the curioſities of Olympia and Delphi. I ſhall conduct my reader into the different quarters of Athens: the point of time ſhall be the latter years of my reſidence in Greece, and we will begin by landing at the Piræus *.

This harbour, which contains three leſſer ones [a], lies to the weſt of thoſe of Munychiæ and Phalerum, at this day almoſt totally deſerted. Not leſs than three hundred galleys have ſometimes been collected here at once [b], and it is ſufficiently capacious to contain four hundred † [c]. It was firſt diſcovered, if I may ſo ſpeak, by Themiſtocles, when he laid the plan of giving a navy to the Athenians [d]. Markets and magazines were preſently erected, and an arſenal capable of furniſhing every thing neceſſary for the equipment of a great number of veſſels.

Before we ſet foot on ſhore, let us caſt our eyes on the neighbouring promontory. A ſquare ſtone, without any ornaments, and reſting on a ſimple baſe, forms the ſepulchral monument of Themiſtocles, his body having been brought hither from the place of his exile [e]. Behold thoſe veſſels that are arriving, thoſe that are preparing to depart, or are already under ſail: obſerve thoſe women and children running

* See the plan of Athens, and the note at the end of the volume.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 3. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, première partie, p. 261.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

† Spon and Wheeler obſerve, that this port could hardly contain forty or forty-five of our ſhips.

[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395.

[d] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121. Nep. in Them. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 32.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 3.

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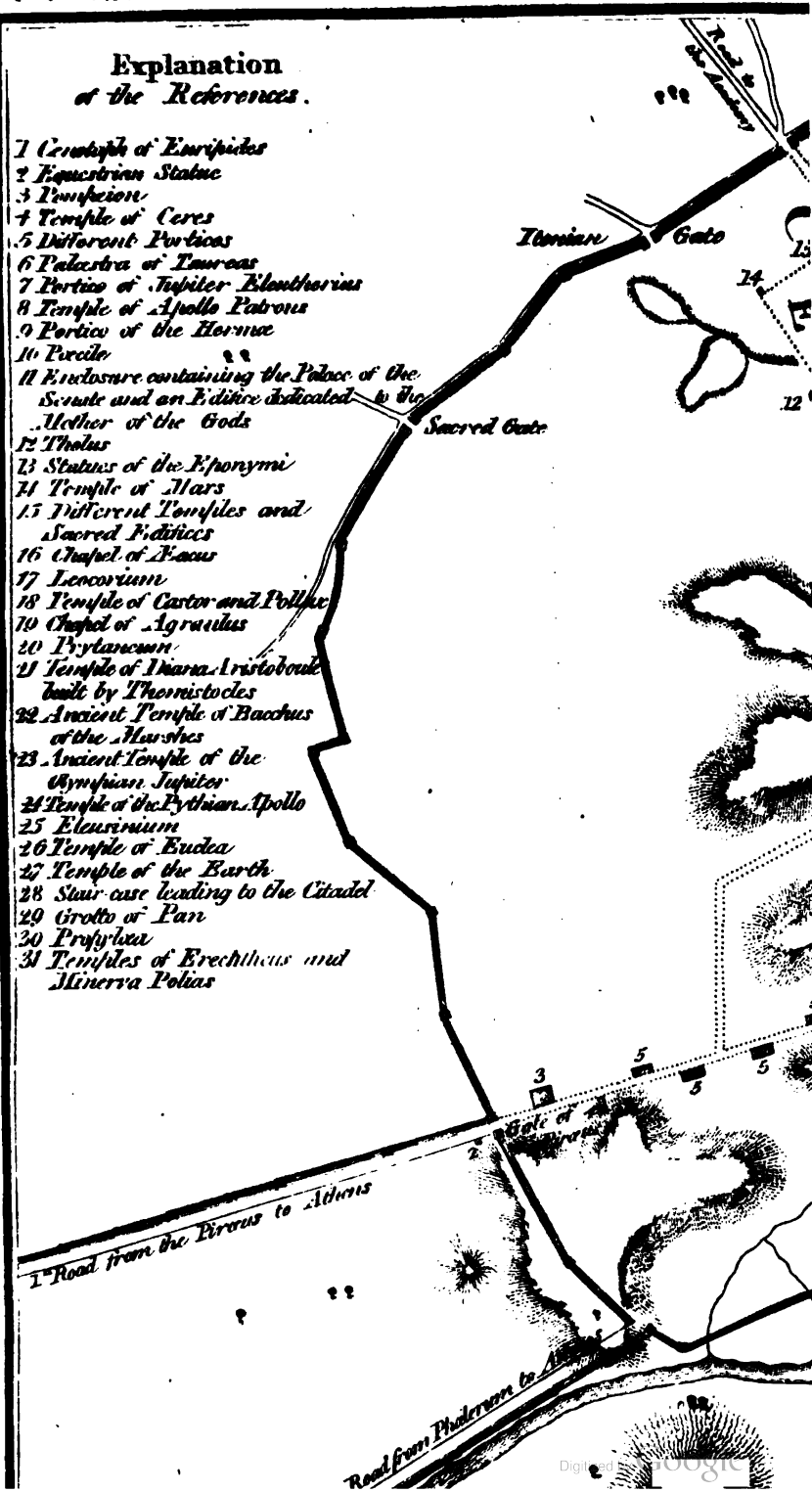
Explanation of the References.

1 Cenotaph of Euripides
2 Equestrian Statue
3 Pompeion
4 Temple of Ceres
5 Different Porticos
6 Palaestra of Taureas
7 Portico of Jupiter Eleutherius
8 Temple of Apollo Patrous
9 Portico of the Hermae
10 Poecile
11 Enclosure containing the Palace of the Senate and an Edifice dedicated to the Mother of the Gods
12 Tholus
13 Statues of the Eponymi
14 Temple of Mars
15 Different Temples and Sacred Edifices
16 Chapel of Faeus
17 Leocorium
18 Temple of Castor and Pollux
19 Chapel of Agraulus
20 Pytaneum
21 Temple of Diana Aristoboule built by Themistocles
22 Ancient Temple of Bacchus of the Marshes
23 Ancient Temple of the Olympian Jupiter
24 Temple of the Pythian Apollo
25 Eleusinium
26 Temple of Eudea
27 Temple of the Earth
28 Stair-case leading to the Citadel
29 Grotto of Pan
30 Propylaea
31 Temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias



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to the shore to receive the first embraces, or the last farewel, of their husbands and their fathers; those clerks of the custom-house hurrying to open the bales which are just landed, and to affix their seals until they had paid the duty of a fiftieth [f]; those magistrates, those inspectors, who are all in motion; some to fix the price of the corn and flour [g]; some to give orders for the conveyance of two thirds of it to Athens [h]; and others employed in preventing frauds, and maintaining order [i].

Let us step under one of these porticos that encompass the harbour [k]. Here a number of merchants, who are on the point of embarking for the Euxine or for Sicily, are borrowing the money they are in want of at heavy interest, and drawing up the contract which contains the conditions of the bargain [l]. One is making his declaration before witnesses, that the merchandise he has put on board shall, in case of shipwreck, be at the risk of the lenders [m]. Farther on, you see exposed on tables, samples of corn and other goods lately imported from the Bosphorus [n]. Let us repair to the square of Hippodamus, so called from the builder, an architect of Miletus [o]. Here, the productions of all countries are accumulated: this is not the market of Athens, but of all Greece [p].

The Piræus is decorated with a theatre, several temples, and a great number of statues [q]. As the existence of Athens depends on the safety of this harbour, Themistocles secured it against a sudden attack, by building that noble wall which includes both the town of the Piræus, and the harbour of Munychiæ. This wall is sixty stadia [r] in length, and forty

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[f] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 952. Æneas, Poliorc. cap. 29.

[g] Harpocr. et Suid. in Σιτοφύλ.

[h] Dinarch. et Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπιμελ. Etym. Magn. ibid.

[i] Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀγορανομ.

[k] Meurs. in Pir. cap. 4.

[l] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 949. Theophr. Charact. cap. 23.

[m] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 944.

[n] Harpocr. in Δεύγμ. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 2. § 2.

[o] Meurs. in Pir. cap. 5.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 38. Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 139. Sopatr. de Div. Quest. ap. Rhet. Græc. t. i. p. 305.

[q] Meurs. ibid.

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

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cubits high *. Themiſtocles wiſhed to raiſe it to the heighth of eighty cubits [s]. Its thickneſs is greater than the ſpace occupied by two waggons. It was built of huge ſquare ſtones, faſtened on the outſide by iron and leaden cramps.

We will now take the road to Athens, and follow this long wall, which extends from the Piræus to the gates of the city, a diſtance of forty ſtadia [t]. It was Themiſtocles likewiſe who planned this wall [u], which was completed under the adminiſtration of Cimon and Pericles [x]. Some years after they built a ſimilar one, though not quite ſo long, from the walls of the city to the port of Phalerum [y]. This wall is on our right. The foundations of both were laid in marſhy ground, which was filled up with huge pieces of rock [z]. By theſe two walls of communication, now called the long walls, the Piræus is encloſed within the precincts of Athens, of which it forms the rampart: After the taking of the city, they were wholly or in part demoliſhed [a]; but at preſent they are almoſt completely reſtored [b].

The road we are following is frequented at all times, and at all hours of the day, by a great number of people, attracted by the proximity, the feſtivals, or commerce of the Piræus.

But let us view the cenotaph before us. This was erected by the Athenians in memory of Euripides, who died in Macedonia [c]. Let us read the firſt words of the inſcription: THE GLORY OF EURIPIDES HAS ALL GREECE FOR A MONUMENT [d].

* The length was 5670 toiſes, and conſequently two French leagues of 2500 toiſes, and 670 toiſes, or about a quarter of a league, more (ſomewhat above 6½ miles Engliſh.) Its height being 40 cubits, or 60 Grecian feet, was 56⅔ French feet (60½ feet Eng.)

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 93. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. cap. 190. p. 325.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13. Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 2.

[u] Plut. in Them. t. i. p. 121.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 107 et 108. Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

[y] Andocid. ibid.

[z] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 226. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 441.

[b] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 537. Diod. lib. 14. p. 303. Nepos in Timoth. cap. 4. Id. in Conon. cap. 5.

[c] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.

[d] Anthol. lib. 3. p. 273. Thom. Mag. in Vit. Eurip.

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Do you ſee that concourſe of ſpectators near the city gate, the litters ſtopping there [e], and that man upon a ſcaffold ſurrounded by workmen? That is Praxiteles. He is going to fix upon a baſe, that ſerves by way of tomb, a grand equeſtrian ſtatue which he has juſt finiſhed [f].

We are now in the city, and cloſe to an edifice called Pompeion [g]; whence it is that thoſe *pomps* or proceſſions of young men and damſels ſet out, who occaſionally diſplay themſelves at the feſtivals celebrated by the other nations. In an adjoining temple dedicated to Ceres, are admirable ſtatues of that goddeſs, Proſerpine, and young Iacchus; all three by the hand of Praxiteles [h].

Let us take a rapid view of thoſe porticos that extend along the ſtreet, and which are wonderfully numerous in the city. Some ſtand detached: others are contiguous to buildings, to which they ſerve as veſtibules. Philoſophers and idle people ſpend part of the day here. In almoſt all of them you ſee paintings and ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip. In that where they ſell flour [i] you will find a picture of Helen, painted by Zeuxis [k].

Let us take this ſtreet on our left; it will lead us to the quarter of the Pnyx, and bring us near to the place where the people hold ſome of their aſſemblies [l]. This quarter, which is very populous, is contiguous to that of the Ceramicus, or pottery-grounds, ſo called from the earthen ware formerly fabricated there [m]. This extenſive ſpace is divided into two parts; one without the walls, where the academy is ſituated; the other within, in which is the grand ſquare, or forum.

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[e] Dinarch. Orat. adv. Demoſth. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 177.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.

[g] Id. ibid.

[h] Id. ibid.

[i] Heſych. in Ἀλφίτ. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 682.

[k] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 11. p. 868. lin. 37.

[l] Meurſ. de Popul. Athen. in voce Pnyx.

[m] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. p. 710. Suid. in Κεραμ. Meurſ. Ceram.

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We will ſtop a moment at the royal portico, which merits our attention in ſeveral points of view. The ſecond of the archons, ſtyled the king-archon, holds his tribunal here [n]: here too the areopagus ſometimes aſſembles [o]. The ſtatues on the roof are of earthen ware, and repreſent Theſeus precipitating Sciron into the ſea, and Aurora carrying off Cephalus [p]. That figure in bronze which you ſee at the gate, is Pindar. He is repreſented crowned with a diadem, with a book on his knees, and a lyre in his hand [q]. Thebes, his native country, offended at the eulogium he had beſtowed on the Athenians, having been mean enough to condemn him to a pecuniary fine, Athens decreed him this monument, leſs perhaps from eſteem for the poet, than from hatred of the Thebans. Not far from the ſtatue of Pindar are thoſe of Conon, of his ſon Timotheus, and of Evagoras, king of Cyprus [r].

Near the royal portico is that of Jupiter Liberator [s], where Euphranor the painter has lately repreſented, in a ſeries of pictures, the twelve gods, Theſeus, the people of Athens, and that engagement of the cavalry in which Gryllus, the ſon of Xenophon, attacked the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas [t]. They are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and the painter has expreſſed, with all the fire of genius, the courage and ardour with which both were animated [u]. The Apollo of the adjoining temple is by the ſame hand [x].

From the royal portico two ſtreets branch out, and terminate in the forum. Let us take that on the right. It is decorated, as you ſee, by a number of Hermæ, the name given to thoſe heads of Mercury ſupported by pedeſtals in the form of a ſheath. Some of theſe have been erected by private individu-

n Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 8.
o Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.
p Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 8.
q Æſchin. Epiſt. 4. p. 207.
r Iſocr. in Evagor. t. ii. p. 98 Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 551. Pauſ. ibid.
s Meurſ. in Ceram. cap. 4.
t Pauſan. ibid. cap. 3. p. 9.
u Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii p. 346.
x Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 9.

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als; others, by order of the magiſtrates [y]. Almoſt all of them record glorious achievments. On ſome are inſcribed leſſons of wiſdom. For the latter Athens is indebted to Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus. He had put into verſe the moſt ſublime precepts of morality, and cauſed them to be engraved on a number of Hermæ erected by his orders in the ſquares, croſs-ways, many of the ſtreets of Athens, and in the towns of Attica. On one, for example, was inſcribed: ALWAYS TAKE JUSTICE FOR YOUR GUIDE; on another: NEVER VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF FRIENDSHIP [z]. Theſe maxims no doubt have contributed to render the language of the inhabitants of the country places ſo ſententious.

This ſtreet is terminated by two porticos that front the forum. The one is that of the Hermæ [b]; the other, and moſt handſome of the two, is called the Pœcile. In the former are three ſtatues of Hermes, on which, after any advantages gained over the Medes, they formerly inſcribed the eulogium decreed by the people, not to the generals, but to the ſoldiers who had conquered under their command [c]. At the gate of the Pœcile is the ſtatue of Solon [d]. The walls within are covered with bucklers taken from the Lacedæmonians, and other nations [e], and enriched with the works of Polygnotus, Micon, Panœnus, and other celebrated painters. In theſe pictures, the beauty of which it is eaſier to feel than to deſcribe, we view the taking of Troy, the ſuccours given by the Athenians to the Heraclidæ, the battles they fought with the Lacedæmonians at Oenoë, with the Perſians at Marathon, and the Amazons in Athens itſelf [f].

The forum, which is extremely ſpacious, is decorated with buildings deſtined to the worſhip of the gods, or the ſervice

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[y] Harpocr. in Ἑρμ.
[z] Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p 229. Heſych. in Ἱππαρχ. Suid. in Ἑρμ.
[a] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. t. ii. p. 572.
[b] Muneſim. ap Athen. li 9. p. 402.
[c] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458.
[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 847. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 38. Ælian. lib. 8. cap. 16.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 15.
[f] Meurſ. Athen. Att. lib. 1. cap. 5.

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of the ſtate; others that ſometimes afford an aſylum to the wretched; but which are too often a ſhelter for the wicked; and ſtatues decreed to kings and individuals who have merited well of the republic [g].

Follow me, and under the ſhade of the plane trees that embelliſh theſe places [h], let us take a turn along one ſide of the ſquare. This ſpacious encloſure contains a temple in honour of the mother of the gods, and the palace in which the ſenate aſſembles [i]. In theſe edifices, and all around them, are placed cippi and columns, on which are engraven ſeveral of the laws of Solon, and the decrees of the people [k]. To that rotunda, ſurrounded by trees [l], the prytanes, in rotation of duty, go every day to dine, and ſometimes to offer up ſacrifices for the proſperity of the people [m].

In the middle of ten ſtatues, which give their names to the tribes of Athens [n], the firſt archon holds his tribunal [o]. Here the eyes of the enchanted ſpectator every moment meet the works of genius. In the temple of the mother of the gods you have ſeen a ſtatue of the goddeſs, executed by Phidias [p]; in the temple of Mars, before us, you will find that of the god, the workmanſhip of Alcamenes, a pupil worthy of Phidias [q].

Similar monuments are to be met with on every ſide of the forum. In the middle are encamped the Scythians kept in pay by the republic to maintain order [r]. There is the place in which the people ſometimes aſſemble, but it is now covered with tents, in which different kinds of wares are expoſed to ſale [s]. Farther on you ſee a crowd which it is almoſt impoſſible to paſs through. There are ſold the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of ſo numerous a people. It is the

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[g] Id. Ceram. cap. 16.

[h] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[i] Plut. in X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητραγ.

[k] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 165. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Harpocr. in ὁ Καθωτεν.

[l] Suid. in Heſych. in Σκιας.

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 332. Ulp. ibid. p. 388. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 12.. Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 7.

[n] Pauſan. ibid.

[o] Suid. in Ἄρκων.

[p] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 3. p. 9.

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 20.

[r] Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 16

[s] Demoſth. in Lor. p. 501. Id. in Neær. p. 875. Taylor. Not. in De-

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grand market, divided into ſeveral particular ones, frequented at all hours of the day, and eſpecially from nine o'clock till noon. Collectors attend there to receive the duties laid on every thing that is ſold, and magiſtrates to ſuperintend what is paſſing. I ſhall mention to you two very wiſe laws, for the regulation of this untractable and tumultuous populace. The one prohibits any man from reproaching the loweſt citizen with living by the profit of his traffic in the market [t], the government wiſhing to prevent a uſeful profeſſion from being treated as an object of contempt. The other forbids any perſon to employ falſehood for the purpoſe of exaction [u]. Vanity has maintained the former of theſe, but intereſt has rendered the latter of no effect. As the forum is the moſt frequented part of the city, workmen of all kinds endeavour to reſide near it [x], and houſes let there at a higher price than elſewhere.

I am now about to conduct you to the temple of Theſeus, built by Cimon, ſome years after the battle of Salamis. Though ſmaller than that of Minerva, of which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak, and which appears to have been built after the ſame model [y], it is, like that, of the Doric order, and of a very elegant architecture. Skilful painters have enriched it with their immortal labours [z].

After paſſing by the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, by that of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops, and the Prytaneum, where ſome citizens who have rendered ſignal ſervices to the ſtate are maintained at the expence of the republic [a], we are now arrived at the ſtreet of the tripods [b], which ſhould rather be named the ſtreet of triumphs; for here is it, in fact, that the glory of the victors in thoſe conteſts that embelliſh our feſti-

moſth. p. 620. Harpocr. in ῥίππα.

[t] Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 886.

[u] Demoſth. in Lept. p 542. Ulpian. ibid. p. 570. Hyperid. ap. Harpocr. in κατὰ τὴν &c.

[x] Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 413.

[y] Le Roi. Ruines. de la Grèce. t. i. p. 18.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 40.

[a] Meurſ. de Ath. Att. lib. 1. cap. 7 et 8.

[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 542 et 543. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.

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vals is, if I may so speak, annually deposited. I mean those trials of skill which take place between musicians or dancers of different ages, each tribe naming its own candidates. That which has gained the victory, dedicates a tripod of brass sometimes in a temple, sometimes in a house they have built in this street [c]. You see those numerous offerings on the roofs, or in the inside, of the elegant buildings we have on each side of us [d]. They are accompanied with inscriptions, which, according to circumstances, contain the name of the chief archon of the tribe that has been victorious; of the citizen who, under the denomination of choregus, had the regulation of the performers; of the poet who composed the verses; of the master who had the direction of the chorus; and of the musician who accompanied the songs with his flute [e]. Let us approach. Behold the vanquishers of the Persians here celebrated for having appeared at the head of choruses! Read under that tripod: THE TRIBE ANTIOCHIS GAINED THE PRIZE; ARISTIDES WAS CHOREGUS; ARCHESTRATUS COMPOSED THE PIECE [f]. Under that other: THEMISTOCLES WAS CHOREGUS; PHRYNICUS WROTE THE TRAGEDY; ADIMANTUS WAS ARCHON [g] *.

The works of architecture and sculpture which surround us, astonish as much by the excellence of the workmanship, as by the motives that produced them; but all their beauties vanish before the satyr you are about to see in that edifice [h], esteemed by Praxiteles one of the finest of his productions, and ranked by the public among the master pieces of art.

The street of the tripods leads to the theatre of Bacchus. It was but fitting that the trophies should be erected near the field of battle; for it is at the theatre that the choruses of the

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[c] Chandler. Inscript. part 2. p. 48.
[d] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.
[e] Vandal. Differt. de Gymnas. cap. 5. p. 672. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99.
[f] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 318.
[g] Id. in Them. t. i. p. 114.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[h] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. p. 653. Athen. lib. 13. p. 591.

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respective tribes usually dispute the palm [l]. There also is it that the people sometimes assemble, either to deliberate on affairs of state, or to be present at the representation of tragedies and comedies. At Marathon, at Salamis, and Platæa, the Athenians triumphed only over the Persians; here they have triumphed over all the nations now existing, perhaps over all that are yet to be born; and the names of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, shall not be less celebrated in future ages, than those of of Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles.

Opposite to the theatre is one of the most ancient temples of Athens [k]; that of Bacchus, surnamed the god of the wine press. It is situated in the quarter of the marshes [l], and is opened only once a year [m]. In the wide space in which it stands, public spectacles were formerly exhibited on certain festivals, before the theatre was built [n].

At length we are arrived at the foot of the stairs that lead up to the citadel [o]. Observe how the prospect extends and becomes more beautiful on all sides as you ascend. Cast your eyes to the left, on that cavern, hollowed out of the rock, consecrated to Pan, near to that fountain [p]. There Apollo received the favours of Creusa, daughter of king Erechtheus, and there he receives at this day the homage of the Athenians, ever attentive to sanctify the foibles of their gods.

Let us stop for a while before that superb edifice of the Doric order, which now presents itself to view. This is called the propylæa or vestibules of the citadel. Pericles had them built of marble, after the designs, and under the inspection of the architect Mnesicles [q]. Begun under the ar-

l Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.

k Id. in Neær. p. 873. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.

l Athen. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 465. Isæus ap. Harpocr. Ἐν λίμναις. Heysch. in λίμναι.

m Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 15.

n Heysch. in Ἐπὶ λήνῳ.

o Athenian medal in the cabinet of the king of France.

p Eurip. in Ion. v. 17. 501. 936. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 68. Lucian. in his Accus. t. ii. p. 801.

q Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

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chonſhip of of Euthymenes *, they were not completed till five years after; and are ſaid to have coſt two thouſand and twelve talents † [r], an exorbitant ſum, exceeding the whole annual revenue of the republic.

The temple we have on our left is dedicated to Victory. Let us ſtep into the building on the right, to admire the paintings which adorn its walls, and are principally the work of Polygnotus [s]. Let us return to the centre of the building, examine the ſix beautiful columns which ſupport the pediment, and walk through the veſtibule divided into three parts by a double row of Ionic pillars, terminated on the oppoſite ſide by five doors, through which we diſtinguiſh the columns of the periſtyle that looks towards the inſide of the citadel [t] ‡. Obſerve, in paſſing, thoſe large blocks of marble which compoſe the ceiling, and ſuſtain the roof.

We are now in the citadel [u]. Obſerve the immenſe number of ſtatues which gratitude and religion have erected here, and on which the chiſels of Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and other artiſts of renown, ſeem to have beſtowed animation. Here Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals, will live for ever. Their noble ſtatues are intermingled, without diſtinction, with thoſe of the gods [x].

This kind of apotheoſis made a forcible impreſſion on me, on my firſt arrival in Greece. I thought I beheld in every city two ſpecies of citizens, thoſe who at their deaths were conſigned to oblivion, and thoſe on whom the arts beſtow an eternal exiſtence. The one I conſidered as the children of men, the ſecond as the ſons of glory. But at length, from ſeeing ſo great a number of ſtatues, I have no longer been able to diſtinguiſh the two claſſes.

* The year 437 before J. C.

† 10,864,800 livres (452,700l.)

[r] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρωτύλ.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 51.

[t] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 2. p. 13 et 47. Pauſan. ibid.

‡ See the plan of the propylæa.

[u] Meurſ. in Cecrop.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1. paſſim.

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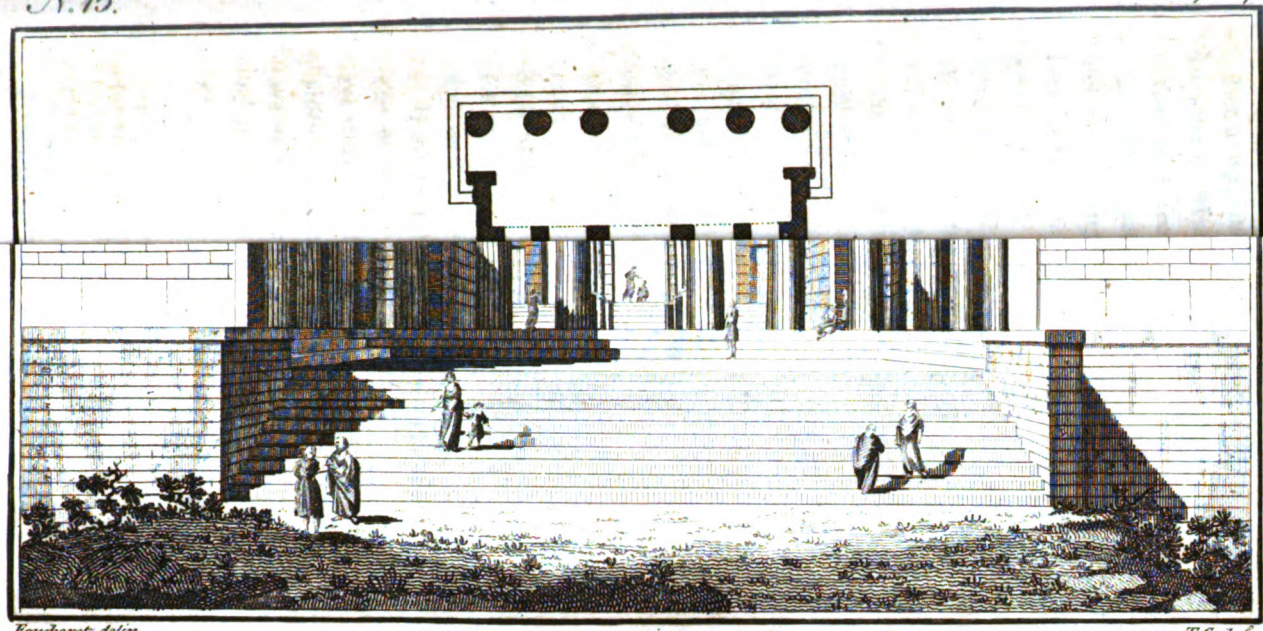

Foucherot delin. T. Cook fc.

PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE PROPYLÆA

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Let us approach these two altars. Revere the first; it is the altar of Modesty: affectionately embrace the second; it is that of Friendship [y]. Read on that column of bronze a decree which proscribes and devotes to opprobrium a citizen and his posterity, for receiving Persian gold to corrupt the Greeks [z]. Thus are civil actions immortalized to produce good ones, and good to stimulate to still better. Lift up your eyes, and admire the work of Phidias. Yonder is the colossal statue of bronze which the Athenians dedicated to Minerva, after the battle of Marathon [a].

All the districts of Attica are under the protection of this goddess [b], but it should appear that she has fixed her residence in the citadel. What innumerable statues, altars, and structures in her honour! Among these statues there are three, the materials and workmanship of which exhibit the progress of luxury and the arts. The first is so antique, that it is said to have fallen from heaven [c]; it is shapeless, and of olive wood. The second, I have been showing you, is the work of an age, when, from among all the various kinds of metals, the Athenians only made use of iron to obtain success, and brass to eternize it. The third, which we shall see presently, was sculptured by order of Pericles, and is of gold and ivory [d].

Here we meet with a temple, consisting of two chapels, one dedicated to Minerva Polias, the other to Neptune Erechtheus [e]. Remark the manner in which fabulous traditions may sometimes be reconciled with historical facts. You are here shown, on one side, the olive tree which sprang out of the earth at the command of the goddess, and which has so greatly multiplied in Attica; and, on the other, the well,

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[y] Hesych. in Αἰδώς.

[z] Demosth. Philipp. 4. p. 91. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 336. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 114.

[a] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 336. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 67.

[b] Pausan. ibid. cap. 26. p. 63.

[c] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 63.

[d] Schol. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Androt. p. 440.

[e] Meurs. Cecrop. cap. 20.

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whence they pretend that Neptune caused the water of the sea to gush out [f]. By such bounties was it that these divinities aspired to the honour of bestowing their names on this rising city. The gods decided in favour of Minerva; and the Athenians for ages preferred agriculture to commerce [g]. Since they have combined these two sources of wealth, they divide their homage in the same hallowed place between both their benefactors; and, to complete the conciliation, have erected one common altar, which they call the altar of Oblivion [h].

Before the statue of the goddess is suspended a golden lamp, above which is a branch of palm, of the same metal, that reaches to the ceiling. It burns night and day [i], and the oil is renewed but once a-year. The wick, which is made of amianthus [k], is never consumed, and the smoke escapes by a tunnel concealed under the foliage of the palm branch. This lamp is the work of Callimachus, and so highly finished as to incline those who view it to wish that it had more of the grace of negligence; but this was the general fault of that too careful artist. He lost sight of perfection by striving to attain it; and, by being dissatisfied with himself, failed to give satisfaction to persons of real taste [l].

In this part of the temple was preserved the rich scymetar of Mardonius, who commanded the Persian army at the battle of Platæa; and the cuirass of Masistius, who fought at the head of the cavalry [m]. In the vestibule of the Parthenon was likewise to be seen the throne with silver feet, on which Xerxes placed himself to be a spectator of the sea fight of Salamis [n]; and in

f Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 55. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62. Meurs. Cecrop. cap. 19.

g Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121.

h Plut. Sympos. lib. 9. quæst. 6. t. ii. p. 741.

i Pausan. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 63. Strab. lib. 9. p. 606.

k Salmas. in Solin. t. i. p. 178.

l Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 658. Pausan. ibid.

m Demosth. in Timocr. p. 793. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 45. Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 2. cap. 13. Pausan. ibid. cap. 27. p 64.

n Demosth. in Timocr. p. 793. Harpocr. in Ἀεγυρέων.

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the ſacred treaſury were preſerved the remains of the ſpoils found in the camp of the Perſians [o]. Theſe ſpoils, the greateſt part of which have been carried off in our time by ſacrilegious hands, were trophies that furniſhed a ſubject of pride to the Athenians of the preſent day, as if they had acquired them by their own valour; like thoſe families, who, having formerly produced great men, endeavour to make us forget what they now are, by the memory of what they have been.

That other building called Opiſtthodomos, is the public treaſury [p]. It is ſurrounded by a double wall. Treaſurers, choſen annually by lot, depoſit there the ſums placed by the ſenate in their hands [q], and the chief of the prytanes, who is changed every day, is intruſted with the key [r].

Your eyes have long been turning towards that famous temple of Minerva, one of the nobleſt ornaments of Athens, which is known by the name of the Parthenon. Before you enter it, permit me to read you a letter I wrote, on my return from Perſia, to Othanes, one of the magi, with whom I lived in the cloſeſt intimacy during my reſidence at Suza. He was acquainted with the hiſtory of Greece, and wiſhed to inform himſelf of the cuſtoms of different nations. As he had requeſted from me ſome explanations reſpecting the Grecian temples, the following was the letter I wrote to him:

"You aſſert that we ought not to repreſent the Deity under a human form, nor circumſcribe his preſence within the limits of a ſtructure built by men [s]. But you would not have adviſed Cambyſes, when in Egypt, to inſult the objects of religious worſhip [t], nor Xerxes to deſtroy the temples and ſtatues of Greece [u]. Theſe princes, ſuperſtitious even to extravagance, knew not that a nation pardons violence more

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[p] Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 26.
[q] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. in Ταμ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9 § 97.
[r] Argum. Orat. Demoſt. in Androt. p. 697. Suid. in Ἐπιστάτ.
[s] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 131. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. iii. p. 145.
[t] Id. lib. 3. cap. 25, 29, &c.
[u] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 811. Herod. lib. 8. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 332.

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readily than contempt, and deems itself debased whenever what it holds in reverence is despised and profaned. Greece has forbidden the restoration of the sacred monuments overthrown by the Persians [x]. These await the moment of vengeance; and should the Greeks ever carry their victorious arms into the dominions of the Great King, they will remember Xerxes, and reduce your cities to ashes [y].

"The Greeks borrowed the idea [z] and the form of their temples from the Egyptians; but the proportions of the architecture [a] which they have employed in these edifices, are more elegant, or such at least as are more conformable to their taste.

"I shall not undertake to give you a minute description of their different parts, but send you the plan of that erected in honour of Theseus *. Four walls, disposed in the form of a parallelogram or oblong square, constitute the nave or body of the building. Its principal decoration and chief merit is exterior, and is as distinct from it as the dresses that distinguish the various classes of citizens. This consists in a portico, that runs round the building, and of which the columns, founded on a base composed of several steps, support an entablature crowned by a pediment at the anterior and posterior extremities. This portico gives equal grace and majesty to the edifice, and contributes to the lustre of the ceremonies, by the great number of spectators which it can contain, and shelter from the weather [b].

"In the vestibule are vases of lustral water [c], and altars on which the sacrifices are usually offered [d]. From hence, as

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[x] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 203. Lycurg. cont. Leocr. part. 2. p. 158. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887. Diod. lib. 11. p. 24.

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 545. Strab. l. 15. p. 730. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 7.

[z] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[a] Voyag. de Norden, pl. 132. Pococke, t. i. pl. 44, 45, &c. Mosaiq. de Palestr. in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 503.

* See the plate relative to this chapter, No. 1.

[b] Vitruv. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 42.

[c] Casaub. in Theophr. cap. 16. p. 126. Duport. ibid. p. 456.

[d] Euripid. Iphig. in Taur. v. 72. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 6, &c.

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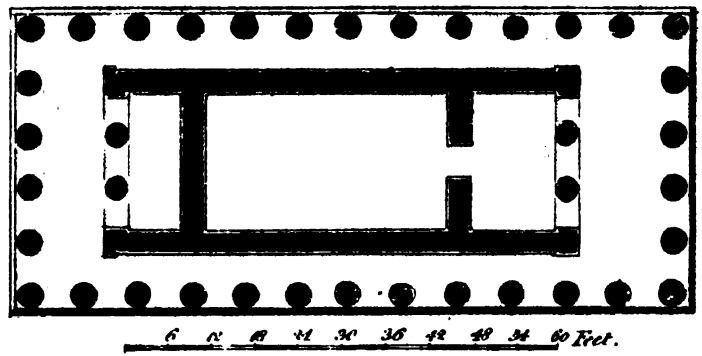
No. 1.

Plan of the Temple of Theseus.



No. 2.

Elevation of the Front of the Parthenon.

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we enter the temple, the ſtatue of the divinity, and votive offerings, dedicated by the piety of the people, are ſeen. It has no light but what it receives from the entrance * [e].

"The plan you have before you may be varied according to the rules of art, and the taſte of the artiſt. As, for inſtance, in the dimenſions: The temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, is two hundred and thirty feet long, ninety-five broad, and ſixty-eight in height [f]. That of Jupiter, at Agrigentum, in Sicily [g], is three hundred and forty feet long, one hundred and ſixty wide, and one hundred and twenty high †.

"It admits alſo of variety in the number of columns. Sometimes we find two, four, ſix, eight, and even as many as ten, in the two fronts; ſometimes they are placed only at the anterior front. In ſome temples, a double portico is formed round the whole building by two rows of columns.

"Variety is alſo admitted in the ornaments and proportions of the columns and entablature; and here the genius of the Greeks ſhines forth. After various experiments, having combined their ideas and diſcoveries into a ſyſtem, they compoſed two ſpecies or orders of architecture, each poſſeſſing a diſtinctive character and peculiar beauties; the one more ancient, more maſculine, and more ſubſtantial, called the Doric; the other more light and elegant, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Ionic. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Corinthian, as it does not eſſentially differ from the two others [h].

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* See the note at the end of the volume.

[e] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 89.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 398.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 203.

† Length of the temple of Olympia, 217 French feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (232 feet 9 inch. Engliſh); its breadth, 89 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines (95 feet Engliſh); its height, 64 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (68 ft. 7 inch. Engliſh). Length of the temple of Agrigentum, 321 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (343 feet Engliſh); its breadth, 151 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (161 feet 4 inch. Engliſh); its height, 113 feet, 4 lines (120 feet 8 inches Engliſh). Winkelmann (Recueil de ſes Lettres, t. i. p. 282.) preſumes, with reaſon, that the breadth of this temple was 160 Grecian feet, inſtead of 60, as the text of Diodorus, as we now have it, imports.

[h] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, p. 15. de l'Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire de l'Architect.

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"In fine, a variety may alſo have place in the interior parts of theſe ſtrictures. Some contain a ſanctuary not to be entered by the profane [h]: others are divided into ſeveral departments. Some there are in which, beſides the principal gate of entrance, there is a ſecond at the oppoſite extremity, or one, the roof of which is ſupported by one or by two ranges of columns *.

"The better to enable you to judge of the form of the temples of Greece, I ſhall annex two drawings to my letter, in which you will find repreſented the front and general view of the Parthenon, at the citadel of Athens †. I ſhall likewiſe ſend you the work compoſed by Ictinus on this beautiful ſtructure [i]. Ictinus was one of the two architects employed by Pericles in the building of this temple, the name of the other was Callicrates [k].

"From whatever quarter the traveller arrives, whether by ſea or land, he views it rearing up its lofty head above the city and the citadel [l]. It is of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble, found in the quarries of Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica. It is one hundred feet wide, about two hundred and twenty-ſix long, and about ſixty-nine in height ‡. The portico is double at the two fronts, and ſingle on each ſide. Along the exterior face of the nave runs a frize or architrave, on which is repreſented a proceſſion in honour of Minerva [m]. Theſe baſſo-relievos have added greatly to the fame of the artiſts by whom they were executed.

"Within this temple is that ſtatue ſo celebrated for its ſize, the richneſs of the materials, and the exquiſite beauty

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h Valer. Max. lib. 1. cap. 6. § 12. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 8. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. 3. cap. 105.

* See note at the end of the volume.

† See the plate before referred to, Nos. 2. and 3.

i Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 125.

k Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159. Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Pauſan. cap. 41. p. 685.

l Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part. 1. p. 8.

‡ See note at the end of the volume.

m Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 51.

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of the workmanſhip. By the ſublime majeſty that irradiates the features, and the whole figure of Minerva, we eaſily recogniſe the hand of Phidias. The ideas of this artiſt were ſo ſublime, that he has ſucceeded better, if poſſible, in the repreſentation of the gods, than in that of mortals [n]. We are almoſt tempted to ſay that he had viewed the latter from too great a height, but the former face to face.

"This figure is twenty-ſix cubits high. The goddeſs is erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic [o], holding in one hand a lance, in the other a victory near four cubits high *. Her helmet, on which is a ſphinx, is ornamented on each ſide with two griffins. On the outſide of the ſhield, which lies at the feet of the goddeſs, Phidias has repreſented the battle of the Amazons; on the inſide, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buſkins, that of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and on the pedeſtal, the birth of Pandora, and a variety of other ſubjects. The viſible parts of the body are of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which is imitated by a particular kind of ſtone [p]. This able artiſt has exhibited a wonderful degree of taſte in the execution of his work, and proved that his genius ſtill retained its ſuperiority even in the moſt minute details [q].

"Before he began this ſtatue, he was obliged to give an account to the aſſembly of the people, of the materials which he intended to employ. He gave the preference to marble, becauſe its ſplendour ſubſiſts longeſt. Thus far he was liſtened to with attention, but when he added that it was the cheapeſt, he was commanded to ſay no more; and it was determined that the ſtatue ſhould be formed of gold and ivory [r].

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[n] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57 et 58. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 726. Max. Tyr. diſſ. 14. p. 156. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 208.

* The cubit among the Greeks being one of their feet and a half, the height of the figure was 36 of our feet and 10 inches (39 feet 4 inches); and that of the victory, 5 feet 8 inches (6 feet Engliſh).

[p] Plat. in Hipp. t. iii. p. 290. Plin. lib. 37. p. 787 et 788.

[q] Plin. lib. 36 cap. 5 t. ii. p. 726.

[r] Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 7.

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"For this purpose the purest gold was selected, and it was necessary to provide a quantity of the weight of forty talents * [s]. Phidias, by the suggestions of Pericles, applied this in such a way as easily to admit of being taken off. Two motives induced Pericles to give this advice: he foresaw that a time might come when it should be necessary to employ this gold for the urgent necessities of the state, a measure which he in fact proposed at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war [t]. He foresaw likewise that himself as well as Phidias might hereafter be accused of having applied part of it to other purposes, and of this they afterwards really were accused [u]; but by the precautions they had used, the slanderous charge only redounded to the dishonour of their enemies †.

"Phidias was reproached likewise with having sculptured his own portrait and that of his patron, on the shield of Minerva. He had there represented himself in the character of an old man in the act of throwing a huge stone; and it is pretended that, by an ingenious piece of mechanism, this figure was so connected with the whole as to make it impossible to remove it, without disuniting and totally destroying the statue [x]. Pericles appears fighting with an Amazon. His arm extended and holding a javelin, hides from the spectator one half of his countenance. The object of the artist in this partial concealment, is only to engage the attention of curiosity.

"To this temple is annexed a treasury, in which individuals deposit such sums of money as they choose not to keep at home. There likewise are preserved the offerings made to the goddess, which consist of crowns, vases, and little figures of the divinities, of gold or silver. The Athenian women

* These 40 talents were worth about three millions of livres (125,000l. Sterling). See note at the end of the volume on the quantity of gold employed to enrich this statue.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

[t] Id. ibid.

[u] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 169.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[x] De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 613. Cicer. Orat. cap. 71. t. i. p. 481. Id. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 245.

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likewiſe frequently make offerings in this temple, of their rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Theſe are intruſted to the treaſurers of the goddeſs, who have them under their care during the year they remain in office; on the expiration of which time they deliver to their ſucceſſors a liſt, ſpecifying the weight of each article and the name of the donor. The inventory, which is immediately cut in marble [y], is a teſtimonial of the fidelity of the keepers, and an incentive to private liberality.

"This temple, that of Theſeus, and ſome others, conſtitute the triumph of architecture and ſculpture. Were I to expatiate at large on the beauties of the whole, and on the elegance of the minuter parts, I could add nothing to this eulogium. Be not amazed at the prodigious number of edifices erected in honour of the gods. As manners become more depraved, laws have been proportionally multiplied to prevent crimes, and altars to expiate them become more numerous: beſides that ſuch monuments embelliſh a city, encourage the arts, and are in general conſtructed at the expence of the enemy; for a portion of the ſpoils taken in war is always deſtined to maintain the magnificence of religious worſhip."

Such was the anſwer I wrote to Othanes, the magus. At preſent, without going out of the citadel, we will take different poſitions, that will ſucceſſively diſplay the whole city to our view.

Of late years, it has extended towards the ſouth-weſt, commerce daily attracting the inhabitants to the vicinity of the Piræus. On that ſide, and to the weſt, we ſee, in the environs of the citadel, at different intervals, rocks and eminences [z] covered in general with houſes. On our right we have the riſing ground on which ſtands the Areopagus, on the

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[y] Chandl. Inſcript. in notis part 2. p. xv. Poll. lib. 10. cap. 28. § 126.

[z] Wheel. Journ. book 5. p. 388. Spon. Chandl. &c.

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left that of the Museum, and towards the centre, that of the Pnyx, where, as I have said, the general assembly is sometimes held. We here may observe to what a height the two parties that divide Athens carry their mutual jealousy. As from the top of this hill the Piræus may be distinctly seen, there was a time when the orators, turning their eyes towards the harbour, used every art to induce the people to sacrifice every other object to their navy. The partisans of the aristocracy, deeply offended at this, alleged that the first legislators had only favoured agriculture, and that Themistocles, by uniting the city to the Piræus, and thus connecting the sea and land, had increased the number of the sailors, and the power of the multitude. Accordingly, after the taking of Athens, the first measure adopted by the thirty tyrants appointed by Lysander, was to turn the rostrum from which the orators harangued the people toward the land, whereas it before had always fronted the sea [a].

I have not taken notice of several edifices situated on the sides and in the environs of the citadel. Such, among others, are the Odeum and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The former is a kind of theatre built by Pericles for musical competitions [b]. In it the six junior archons sometimes hold their meetings [c]. The roof, which is supported by columns, is built with the fragments of ships of the Persian fleet defeated at Salamis [d]. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was begun by Pisistratus, and would, it is said, had it been finished [e], have been the most magnificent of temples.

Your progress has been often interrupted, and your eyes have been frequently astonished and delighted, in the road we have pursued from the Piræus to the place in which we now are. There are few streets, few squares in this city, in which you will not meet with similar objects to excite and

[a] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121.
[b] Meurs. in Cerami. cap. 11.
[c] Demosth. in Near. p. 869.
[d] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.
[e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 8. Meurs. Athen. Attic. cap. 10.

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gratify curiosity. But do not rely wholly on appearances. The edifice, the most uninviting externally, sometimes contains a precious treasure within. Towards the north, in the quarter of Melita, see if you cannot discern some trees around a house that is hardly distinguishable: that is the abode of Phocion [f]. On this other side, in the middle of those houses, in a little temple dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis, representing the god of love crowned with roses [g]; lower down, near that eminence, stands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of those essays which discover a superior genius. Parrhasius, persuaded that it was within the reach of his art, either by the expression of the countenance, or by the attitude and air of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye [h], undertook, in his portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters, of that violent, unjust, gentle, compassionate, vain-glorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people [i]. But how has he succeeded in this ingenious thought? I will not deprive you of the pleasure of the surprise; you shall judge for yourself.

I have hastily accompanied you through the city; you are now to view, at one comprehensive glance, the adjacent country. To the east is Mount Hymettus, which the bees enrich with their honey, and which invites you by the fragrancy of its thyme. The Iliffus, that glides at the foot of it, meanders round our walls; above you see the gymnasia of the Cynosarges and the Lyceum. To the north-west you discover the academy, and, a little farther, a hill named Colonos, on which Sophocles has laid the scene of his Œdipus Coloneus. The Cephisus, after enriching this district with the tribute of its waters, at length mingles them with those

f Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750.
g Aristoph. Acharn. v. 991. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ἀνθίμ.
h Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 781.
i Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 693.

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of the Iliſſus. Both theſe ſtreams are occaſionally dry during the great heats of ſummer. The proſpect is embelliſhed by handſome country houſes which preſent themſelves to the view on all ſides.

I ſhall conclude, by reminding you of what Lyſippus ſays in one of his comedies: "Whoever does not deſire to ſee Athens is ſtupid; whoever ſees it without being delighted is ſtill more ſtupid; but the height of ſtupidity is to ſee it, to admire it, and to leave it [k]."

CHAP. XIII.

*Battle of Mantinea *.—Death of Epaminondas.*

GREECE was now on the eve of an important revolution; Epaminondas was at the head of an army; and on his victory or defeat finally depended the queſtion whether the Lacedæmonians or Thebans were to give law to the other ſtates of Greece. The opportunity appeared favourable to him for haſtening this deciſion.

He left Tegea, in Arcadia, in the beginning of the night, with the view of ſurpriſing Lacedæmon [l]. This city is entirely expoſed, and had at that time none but children and old men for its defenders, part of the troops being then in Arcadia, and the remainder on their march thither under the command of Ageſilaus. The Thebans arrived at break of day [m], but found Ageſilaus ready to receive them. Informed by a deſerter of the march of Epaminondas, he had returned home with extraordinary celerity, and his ſoldiers already oc-

k Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 10. Henr. Steph. Lucub. in Dicæarch. cap. 3. In Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. xi.

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the 12th of the month Scirophorion, correſponding with the 5th of July of the Julian proleptic year 362 before J. C.

l Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 10.

m Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 392.

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cupied the most important stations. The Theban general, surprised without being discouraged, ordered several attacks. He had penetrated to the forum [n], and made himself master of one part of the city, when Agesilaus, then near eighty years of age, listening only to the dictates of despair [o], rushed into the midst of danger, and, seconded by the brave Archidamus his son, repulsed the enemy, and compelled them to retire.

On this occasion, Isadas performed an action that excited at once the admiration and the severe animadversion of the magistrates. This Spartan, scarcely out of his childhood, beautiful as the god of love himself, and valiant as Achilles, armed only with a lance and sword, rushed through the Lacedæmonian battalions, fell impetuously on the Thebans, and laid at his feet all who attempted to withstand his fury. The ephori decreed him a crown in honour of the courage he had displayed, but imposed on him a fine for having fought without either cuirass or buckler [p].

Epaminondas was not molested in his retreat; but a victory was become necessary, that the failure of his enterprise might be forgotten. He therefore marched into Arcadia, where the principal forces of Greece were then united [q], and the two armies soon came in sight of each other. That of the Lacedæmonians and their allies consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and near two thousand horse; the army of the Theban league, of thirty thousand infantry, and about three thousand cavalry [r].

Never did Epaminondas display greater military talents than on this occasion. In his order of battle, he followed the same principles which had procured him the victory of Leuctra [s]. One of his wings, in the form of a column, fell

[n] Polyb. lib. 9. p. 547.
[o] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 647.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 393.
[s] Forlard. Traité de la Colon. cap. 10, dans le rer. vol. de la Trad. de Polybe. p. lxi.

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upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which probably would never have been broken, had he not haſtened thither in perſon to animate his troops by his example, and to reinforce them by a choſen body of men. The enemy, diſmayed at his appearance [t], gave way, and took to flight; he purſued them with an ardour which he could no longer reſtrain, and found himſelf ſurrounded by a body of Spartans, who poured on him a ſhower of javelins. After long warding off death, and making a crowd of warriors bite the duſt, he fell by a javelin, the point of which remained broken in his breaſt. The honour of carrying off his body brought on a renewal of the battle, as warm and bloody as the former attack; but his companions redoubling their exertions, had at length the melancholy conſolation of conveying the hero to his tent.

On the other wing, the fate of the battle long hung in ſuſpenſe. By the prudent diſpoſitions of Epaminondas, the Athenians had it not in their power to ſecond the Lacedæmonians [u]. Their cavalry attacked that of the Thebans, was repulſed with loſs, again rallied, and cut in pieces a detachment poſted by the enemy upon the neighbouring heights. Their infantry was on the point of flying, when the Eleans haſtened to their aſſiſtance [x].

The wound of Epaminondas ſtayed the carnage, and ſuſpended the fury of the ſoldiers. Both armies, equally ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, remained in inaction [y]: the retreat was ſounded on both ſides, and a trophy was erected on the field of battle [z].

Epaminondas ſtill breathed. His friends, his officers, were diſſolved in tears around his bed; and the whole camp reſounded with the cries of grief and deſpair. The phyſician had declared that he would expire the inſtant the iron ſhould

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 395.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7 p. 646.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394.
[y] Juſtin. lib. 6. cap. 7.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.

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be extracted from his wound [a]. All his fears were left his shield should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. It was shown him, and he kissed it as the instrument of his glory and his labours [b]. He seemed anxious concerning the fate of the battle. He was told that the Thebans were victorious. "It is well," replied he, "I have lived long enough [c]." He then ordered Daiphantus and Iollidas, generals whom he thought worthy to succeed him, to be sent for. He was informed that they were dead. "Advise the Thebans then," said he, "to conclude a peace [d]." He now ordered the point of the javelin to be drawn out; and one of his friends exclaiming, in the distraction of his grief: "You die, Epaminondas! had you but left any children!" "I leave," answered he expiring, "two immortal daughters; the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea [e]."

His death was preceded by that of Timagenes, the kind and affectionate friend who had brought me into Greece. He had suddenly disappeared, a week before the battle. A letter, left by him on the table of his niece Epicharis, informed us that he was gone to join Epaminondas, with whom he had preconcerted measures during his residence at Thebes, but that it was his intention speedily to return never to leave us more. If the gods, added he, should otherwise ordain, remember all that Anacharsis has done for me, nor forget what you have promised to do for him.

My heart felt the severest pangs when I read this letter. I wished instantly to follow him; it was my duty so to do; but Timagenes had but too well concerted his precautions to prevent me. Apollodorus, who at his request had just obtained for me the privileges of a citizen of Athens, represented to me the impossibility of bearing arms against my

[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 135. Id. Epist. Famil. lib. 5. epist. 12. t. vii. p. 163. Justin. ibid. cap. 8.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396. Nep. in Epam. cap. 9.
[d] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 194.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.

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new country, without exposing him and his family. This consideration prevailed, and I did not follow my friend; I was not witness of his heroic actions; and I did not perish with him!

His image is ever present to my mind. Thirty years have since elapsed, yet is it but a moment that I have lost him. Twice have I attempted his eulogium, twice has it been obliterated by my tears. But had I even possessed the power to finish, I should have had the resolution to suppress it. The virtues of an obscure man are interesting only to his friends, nor can they even claim to be held forth as an example.

The troubles of Greece were eventually increased by the battle of Mantinea [f]; but its immediate effect was to terminate the war [g]. The Athenians, previous to their departure, took care to collect the bodies of their countrymen who had fallen in battle; and after they were consumed on the funeral pile, their bones were carried to Athens, and a day was fixed for the ceremony of their last obsequies, at which one of the principal magistrates presided [h].

This began by exposing under a large tent the coffins of cypress wood which contained the bones of the deceased. Such as had lost any relation, both men and women, came there from time to time to make libations, and acquit themselves of the duties enjoined by religion and natural affection [i]. Three days after, the coffins, placed on as many cars as there are tribes, proceeded slowly through the city to the Ceramicus without the walls, where funeral games were exhibited. They were then deposited in the earth, after their friends and relations had bathed them for the last time with their tears; and an orator, publicly appointed for the occasion, rising up, pronounced the funeral eulogium of these brave warriors [k]. Each tribe erected cippi or half columns over the tombs of

f Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. 7. c. 647.
g Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616.
h Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 91.
i Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 34.
k Lys. Orat. Funeb. p. 26 et. 27.

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its ſoldiers, on which were inſcribed their names and thoſe of their fathers, their birth place, and name of the place near which they fell.

The road leading from the city to the academy is lined with theſe cippi [1]. Others are ſeen ſcattered in different places in the vicinity. Here lie thoſe who fell in the war of Ægina; there thoſe who were ſlain in Cyprus; farther on ſuch as periſhed in the Sicilian expedition. It is impoſſible to advance a ſtep without treading on the aſhes of a hero, or of a victim ſacrificed to his country. I ſaw the ſoldiers who were returned from Peloponneſus, and had attended at the ceremony, ſtraying among theſe funeral monuments, pointing out to each other the names of their anceſtors and fathers, and ſeeming to anticipate the honours which were one day to be paid to their own memories.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the preſent Government of Athens.

As I ſhall ſometimes make a tranſition from one ſubject to another without appriſing the reader, it is neceſſary to juſtify my method.

Athens was my uſual place of reſidence: though, frequently, in company with my friend Philotas, I made excurſions into the neighbouring or more diſtant countries, from whence we again returned to that city. At every interval of my ſtay, I reſumed my reſearches, and gave the preference to ſome particular object. The order of this work therefore is, as I have already ſaid, only that of a journal, in which, to the narrative of my travels, and the recital of remarkable events, I have added ſuch obſervations as I could collect on intereſting ſubjects. I had begun by an inquiry into the Athenian

1 Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 29.

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government, of which, in my introduction, I contented myself with developing the general principles; I shall now enter into more extensive details, and consider it with the changes and abuses that have been successively introduced by a series of unhappy circumstances.

The cities and towns of Attica are divided into one hundred and seventy-four departments or districts [m], which are again united into, and form ten tribes. All the citizens, those even who reside at Athens, belong to one of these districts, are obliged to enrol their names in its registers, and by that act are consequently classed in one or other of the tribes.

Towards the end of every year [n], the tribes separately assemble to elect a senate, consisting of five hundred deputies, who must have attained at least the age of thirty [o]. Each of these tribes elects fifty, to which the same number of subsidiaries are added, to supply the places that may fall vacant by the death or irregular conduct of any of the acting deputies [p]. Both deputies and substitutes are chosen by lot [q].

The new senators must undergo a rigorous scrutiny [r]; for irreproachable morals are required in men appointed to govern others. They afterward take an oath, by which they promise, among other things, to give none but salutary counsel to the republic, to judge according to the laws, to send no citizen to prison who is able to find bail, unless accused of a conspiracy against the state, or of embezzling the public revenue [s].

The senate elected by the representatives of the ten tribes, is naturally divided into ten classes, each of which by turns has the pre-eminence over the others. This pre-eminence is

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[m] Strab. lib 9. p. 896. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 284. Corsin. Fast. Att. t. i. differt. 5.

[n] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 186.

[o] Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1. p. 717.

[p] Harpocr. in Ἐπιλαχ.

[q] Id. ibid. Andocid. de Myst. part. 2. p. 13.

[r] Lys. adv. Philon. p. 487.

[s] Petit. Leg. Att. p. 192.

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determined by lot [t], and its duration limited to the ſpace of thirty-ſix days for the four firſt claſſes, and thirty-five for the others [u].

The claſs which poſſeſſes this temporary ſuperiority over the reſt is named the claſs of the prytanes [x], and is maintained at the public expence [y], in a place called the Prytaneum. But as it is yet too numerous collectively to exerciſe its functions, it is ſubdivided into five decuriæ or committees, each compoſed of ten proedri or preſidents [z]; the ſeven ſeniors of whom, during ſeven ſucceſſive days, occupy alternately the chief place; the three others never attain this ſituation during the whole year.

He who fills it is conſidered as the chief of the ſenate, and his functions are ſo important, that it has been thought proper to intruſt him with his authority only for one day. He it is who generally propoſes the ſubjects of diſcuſſion; collects the ſuffrages of the ſenate; and, during the ſhort duration of his office, has the ſeal of the republic, the keys of the citadel, and thoſe of the treaſury of Minerva, in his cuſtody [a].

Theſe various arrangements, always determined by lot, are intended to maintain the moſt perfect degree of equality among the citizens, and as barriers for the greater ſafety of the ſtate. Not an Athenian but may become a member and chief of the higheſt body of the republic; not an individual but may, by merit or intrigues, have an opportunity to abuſe an authority confided to him, though but for a few moments.

The nine other claſſes, or chambers of the ſenate, have, in like manner, a preſident at their head, who is changed at

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[t] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Suid. in Πρυτ.

[u] Suid. ib. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 189. Corſin. Faſt. Att. diſſ. 2. p. 103.

[x] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρυτ.

[y] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 501. Poll lib. 8. cap. 15. § 155. Ammon. ap. Harpocr. in Θόλ.

[z] Argum. in Androt. ut ſuprà.

[a] Suid. in Ἐπις. Argum. Orat. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 697.

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each meeting, and is each time drawn for by lot, by the chief of the prytanes [b]. On certain occasions, these nine presidents carry the decrees of the senate to the general assembly; and the first in order of them collects the suffrages of the people [c]. On others, this is performed by the chief of the prytanes, or one of his assistants [d] *.

The senate is annually re-elected, and is expected, while its authority continues, to exclude those of its members whose conduct has been reprehensible [e], and to deliver up its accounts previous to its dissolution [f]. If the people are satisfied with its conduct, they decree it a crown; a reward which is withheld when it has neglected to build galleys [g]. The members who compose it receive a drachma [h] a-day for their attendance †. It meets every day, except on festivals, and days considered as unfortunate [i]. It is the duty of the prytanes to convene it, and to prepare the subjects of deliberation. As it represents the tribes, it is in its turn represented by the prytanes, who, constantly collected in one place, are always at hand, to watch over such dangers as may threaten the republic, and to give timely notice to the senate.

During the thirty-five or thirty-six days that the class of prytanes are in office, the people assemble four times [k]; and these four assemblies, which fall on the 11th, the 20th, 30th, and 33d days of the prytany, are called ordinary assemblies.

On the first of these days, they confirm or remove the magistrates just entered into office [l]. The garrisons and fortresses that constitute the security of the state are the next

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[b] Harpocr. in Πρυτ. et in Ἐπιστάτ. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 191.

[c] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. i. p. 276. et 286.

[d] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 60. Schol. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 14. Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 368; et alii.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[e] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 277.

[f] Id. in Ctesiph. p. 430 et 431.

[g] Demosth. adv. Androt. p. 700. Arg. ejusd. Orat.

[h] Hesych. in Βολ.

† Eighteen sols (or nine pence).

[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 193.

[k] Arist. ap. Harpocr. in Κυρία. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 17. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 196.

[l] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 95.

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objects of consideration [m], as well as certain public informations, and the assembly concludes by publishing the confiscations of property ordered by the courts of justice [n]. On the second, every citizen who has previously deposited on the altar an olive branch bound with a sacred fillet, may freely discourse on all subjects relative to the administration and government. The third is set apart to receive heralds and ambassadors who have first given an account of their mission [o], or presented their credentials to the senate [p]. The fourth is appropriated to religious matters, such as festivals, sacrifices, &c.

The object of these assemblies being known, and their discussions frequently uninteresting, it became necessary, not long since, to drag the people thither by violence, or to force them by penalties, to give attendance [q]. But they are more assiduous since the government has adopted the measure of granting three oboli * as a reward for their appearance [r]; and as there is no punishment for absence, it unavoidably happens that the poorer sort attend in greater numbers than the rich; a circumstance very consonant to the spirit of democracies [s].

Besides these assemblies, extraordinary ones are held when the state is menaced with approaching danger [t]. These are convoked by the prytanes [u], and more frequently by the commanders of the troops [x], in the name, and with the permission of the senate. When circumstances permit, the invitation is extended to all the inhabitants of Attica [y].

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[m] Arist. ap. Harpocr. ibid.

[n] Poll. ibid.

[o] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 397. et 402. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 298.

[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 96.

[q] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 22. Schol. ibid.

* Nine sols (or four-pence halfpenny).

[r] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 330. Id. in Eccles. v. 292. et 308. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 205.

[s] Xenoph. Memorab. p. 775. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 13. t. ii. p. 378.

[t] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. §. 116.

[u] Id. ibid. p. 403 et 404.

[x] Demosth. de Cor. p. 478, 484, et 500

[y] Hesych. in Κατακλ.

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Women cannot be present at the public assembly, nor have men that right till they have passed their twentieth year. This privilege is forfeited by him who is stigmatized with infamy; and a stranger who should usurp it is punishable by death, inasmuch as he is deemed to have usurped the sovereign power [a], or obtained the means of betraying the secrets of the state [e].

The meeting of the assembly begins very early in the morning [b], and is held either in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market, or in a spacious place near the citadel, named the Pnyx [c]. Six thousand suffrages are requisite to give the force of law to several of its decrees [d]. It is not, however, at all times practicable to obtain this number; and, during the whole course of the Peloponnesian war, it was found impossible to collect more than five thousand citizens [e] in the general assembly.

The chiefs of the senate on important occasions preside at the assemblies [f], and the whole senate is present at them in a body. The military officers have a distinguished place assigned them [g], and the city guard, composed of Scythians, attends to maintain order [h].

When every one is seated [i], and the place in which the assembly meets lustrated by the blood of victims [k], a herald rises up and repeats a formulary of vows, which are pronounced also in the senate as often as they proceed to deliberation [l]. With these prayers, addressed to Heaven for the prosperity of the state, are intermingled dreadful imprecations against the orator who shall have received presents to

[a] Esprit. des Lois, lib. 2. chap. 2.
[a] Liban. declam. 28. t. i. p. 617.
[b] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 736.
[c] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. l. 2. cap. 4.
[d] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875. Id. in Timocr. p. 780.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 72.
[f] Aristoph. Schol. in Acharn. v. 60.
[g] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 408.
[h] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid.
[i] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 751 et 782. Id. in Eccles. v. 165.
[k] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 263. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 43. Schol. ad. vers. 44.
[l] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 304.

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deceive the people, the ſenate, or the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ [m]. The ſubject for deliberation is next propoſed to the aſſembly, which is generally contained in a preliminary decree of the ſenate, and is read with a loud voice [n]. The herald then proclaims: "Let every citizen, who can give uſeful counſel to his country, mount the roſtrum, beginning by thoſe who are more than fifty years of age." For it was formerly neceſſary to have paſſed that age, to be permitted to ſpeak firſt on any ſubject under deliberation; but this regulation is now neglected [o], as well as many others.

Although from this moment every man preſent is at perfect liberty to aſcend the roſtrum, yet we rarely ſee any other than the ſtate orators avail themſelves of this privilege. Theſe are ten citizens diſtinguiſhed by their abilities, and eſpecially employed to defend the intereſts of the country in the aſſemblies of the ſenate and the people [p].

When the queſtion is ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the proedri, or preſidents of the ſenate, call for a deciſion of the people on the decree that is propoſed to them. Sometimes they give their ſuffrages by ballot, but oftener by holding up of hands; which is a ſign of approbation. The plurality of ſuffrages once aſcertained, and the decree read a third time without oppoſition, the preſidents diſmiſs the aſſembly, which breaks up with the ſame noiſe and tumult as have prevailed through the whole courſe of the deliberations [q].

On certain occaſions, when the popular leaders have reaſon to dread the influence of powerful men, they have recourſe to a method occaſionally practiſed in other cities of Greece [r]. They propoſe voting by tribes [s], and the vote of each tribe

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[m] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 741. Dicæarch. in Ariſtog. p. 107.

[n] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg p. 299.

[o] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 284; in Cteſiph. p. 428.

[p] Ariſtot. ap. Scol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. v. 689. Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 428. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 856.

[q] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 24. Plat de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492.

[r] Æneæ Poliorc. Comment. cap. 11.

[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

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is always in the power of the poorer sort, who are more numerous than the rich.

By these various modes is it that the supreme authority, which resides essentially in the people, manifests its pleasure. It is the people who decide on peace and war [t], who receive ambassadors, who confirm or abrogate laws, who nominate to almost every office, impose taxes, grant the privileges of a citizen to foreigners, and decree rewards to those who have rendered service to their country [u].

The senate is the permanent council of the people. The members of this body are generally persons of knowledge and ability. The scrutiny they have undergone previous to their entrance into office, proves at least that their conduct has been thought irreproachable, and is a presumption in favour of the rectitude of their intentions.

The people can enact nothing which has not first met with the approbation of the senate. It is to the senate, in the first instance, that all decrees * relative to the administration or government must be presented by the chief of the company, or one of the presidents [x]. They are then discussed by the public orators, and modified, accepted, or rejected, by a majority of votes, in a body of five hundred citizens, most of whom having filled the highest offices of the republic, unite information to experience.

Decrees, as they are passed by them, and previous to their being confirmed by the people, remain in force during the existence of this senate [y], but the ratification of the people can alone give them a durable authority.

Such was the institution of Solon, whose intention it was that the people should have it in their power to do nothing

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 139. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 404.

[u] Thucyd. Xenoph. Demosth. &c. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[x] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 54; de Cor. p. 500; in Androt. p. 699. Liban. Argum. in eand. Orat. p. 696. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Harpocr. in Πρόεδρ.

[y] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 740. Ulpian. p. 766.

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without the ſenate, and that their proceedings ſhould be ſo regulated, as to produce the greateſt poſſible advantages with the feweſt ſources of diſſenſion. But to effect and maintain this happy harmony, it would have been expedient to inveſt the ſenate with the means of awing the people.

But as this body changes every year, and its officers every day, it has neither time nor intereſt ſufficient to retain any portion of authority; and as, at the expiration of its annual functions, it has honours and favours to look up for from the people [z], it is reduced to conſider them in the light of its benefactors, and conſequently its maſters. There is in truth no real ſubject of diviſion between theſe two bodies; but the inconveniences reſulting from their jealouſy would be leſs dangerous than that union which now ſubſiſts between them. The decrees approved of by the ſenate are not only rejected in the aſſembly of the people, but we every day ſee ſimple individuals ſubſtitute others in their room, the offſpring of their private opinions, which are eagerly adopted by the multitude, without any previous knowledge of their tendency. To this licentiouſneſs, the preſidents oppoſe their right of terminating all diſputes. Sometimes they direct the people to deliberate only on the decree of the ſenate; ſometimes they endeavour to make the new propoſitions fall to the ground, by refuſing to put them to the vote, and by poſtponing the diſcuſſion to the next aſſembly. But the multitude almoſt always revolt againſt the exerciſe of a right that prevents them from deliberating, or thwarts their views, and by tumultuous clamour compel the leaders who oppoſe their will to reſign their places to other preſidents, who inſtantly gratify them in the enjoyment of a liberty of which they are ſo jealous [a].

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[z] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 700. Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 408.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

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Simple individuals now possess an influence in the public deliberations which should appertain only to the senate [b]. Some of these are factious persons of the lowest extraction, who hurry away the multitude by their effrontery; others, wealthy citizens, who corrupt them by a false liberality. But those who have the most weight, are men of eloquence, who, laying aside every other occupation, devote their whole time to the administration of the state.

These generally make their first essays in the courts of justice; and when they have there distinguished themselves by their oratory, they then, under pretext of serving their country, but more frequently to promote their ambitious views, enter into a nobler track, and undertake the arduous task of instructing the senate, and guiding the people. Their profession, to which they dedicate themselves at an early period of life [c], requires, with the sacrifice of their liberty, profound knowledge and exalted genius. For it is not sufficient for an orator to be minutely acquainted with the history, the laws, the necessities, and forces of the republic, and the relative situation of the neighbouring and remote powers [d]; to follow with a stedfast eye those rapid or more tardy efforts that all states are perpetually exerting against each other, and those almost imperceptible motions which are internally working their destruction; to avoid alarming the jealousy of the feeble and allied nations, and to disconcert the measures of the powerful and hostile; to discriminate, in fine, the real interests of the country amidst a multitude of combinations and connections: he must also be able to enforce on the public mind those great truths, with the importance of which he is himself sensibly impressed; he must learn to be moved neither by the menaces nor the applauses of the people; to brave the hatred of the rich, by subjecting them to heavy imposts,

[b] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

[c] Æschin. Epist. 12. p. 213.

[d] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. d. 520; ibid. cap. 8.

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that of the multitude, by forcing them from their pleasure or repose, and that of the other orators, by detecting and discovering their intrigues; he must be prepared to be responsible alike for events which he had it not in his power to prevent, and for those it was impossible to foresee [e]; to be the victim, by his disgrace, of projects that have proved abortive, and sometimes even of those which have been justified by success; to appear full of confidence in the hour of imminent danger and universal terror, and by prompt expedients to re-animate declining hope; to fly to the neighbouring states, and with them form powerful leagues; to enkindle an ardent thirst for war, by the enthusiasm of liberty; and, after performing the duties of the statesman, the orator, and ambassador, to repair to the field of battle, and seal with his blood the advice he has given to the people from the rostrum.

Such is the lot of those who are at the head of the government. The laws, foreseeing the empire that men at once so useful and so dangerous may assume over the minds of the people, have ordained that their abilities should not be called into exertion till ample testimony can be borne to their moral conduct. They exclude from the rostrum [f] the man who shall be proved to have struck his parents, or who has denied them the means of subsistence: for how can he feel the love of his country, whose heart is shut to the sentiments of nature? They exclude the citizen who has dissipated the inheritance of his father, since he would lavish the treasures of the state with still greater unconcern; the man also who has no legitimate offspring [g], or possesses no property in Attica; for, without these ties, his attachment to the republic can be at best but vague and equivocal, since it is not strengthened by private interest: whoever likewise has refused to

[e] Demosth. de Cor. p. 513.
[f] Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.
[g] Din. adv. Demosth. in Oper. Demosth. p. 182.

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take arms at the command of the general[h], abandoned his shield in battle, or addicted himself to shameful pleasures, is not permitted to speak in the assembly, because cowardice and corruption, almost inseparable companions, would expose his mind to every species of treachery; besides that no man, who is unable either to defend his country by his valour, or edify it by his example, can be worthy to instruct it by his counsel.

The orator then must ascend the rostrum with the conscciousness and authority of an irreproachable private life. It is to be observed likewise, that formerly those who spoke in public, accompanied their harangues only with a noble, sedate, and artless action, simple as the virtues which they practised, and the truths it was their object to declare; nor is it yet forgotten that Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles, almost motionless on the tribunal, and with their hands concealed in their mantles[i], derived as much weight from the gravity of their demeanour as from the powers of their eloquence.

Far from imitating these examples, the modern orators in general exhibit in their features, their exclamations, their gestures, and their garments[k], nothing but an extravagant agitation, and a disgusting indecency.

This, however, is but a trifling symptom of the infamy of their general conduct. Some sell their talents and their honour to powers at enmity with Athens; others have wealthy citizens at their command, who, by a transient servility, hope to attain the highest offices; while all, waging with each other a perpetual war of reputation and of interest, aspire to the glory and emolument of governing the most enlightened people of Greece and of the world.

Hence those cabals and divisions which are incessantly fermenting in the heart of the republic, and breaking out with

[h] Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Plut. in Nic. t. i, p. 528.

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violence in the tumultuous assemblies: for the people, so servile in their obedience, so terrible when they obtain the sway, carry thither, with their natural licentiousness of manners, that abhorrence of restraint which they deem a precious portion of their sovereignty. There all their passions are extreme, and their excesses passed over with impunity. Thither the orators repair, like so many chiefs of parties, now seconded by military officers whose protection they have secured, and now attended by factious subalterns whose fury they can moderate at pleasure. No sooner do they make their appearance in the lists, than they commence the attack by insults [l] which animate the multitude, or by strokes of pleasantry which transport them beyond themselves. Presently the clamours, the applauses, the bursts of laughter [m], that arise from all sides, stifle the voice of the senators who preside at the assembly, of the guards stationed on every side to maintain order [n], nay, even of the orator [o], who sees his decree fall to the ground by the same paltry artifices that so often overthrow a dramatic piece at the theatre of Bacchus.

In vain has a remedy been for some time past attempted, by ordering one of the ten tribes, drawn by lot at each assembly, to take their stations around the rostrum, to prevent confusion, and fly to the succour of the violated laws [p]: they are themselves hurried along by the torrent which they are endeavouring to stem; and the futility of their assistance serves only to evince the magnitude of an evil, perpetuated not only by the nature of the government, but still more by the character of the Athenians.

In fact, that people, highly susceptible as they are of lively and transient sensations, stand distinguished beyond all other

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[l] Aristoph. in Eccles. p. 142. Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 428.

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492. Demosth. de Fals. Legat p. 297 et 310.

[n] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ib.

[o] Aristoph. ibid. v. 37. Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 300. et 310.

[p] Æschin. in Tim. p. 265; in Ctesiph. p. 428.

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nations for uniting the moſt diſcordant qualities, and ſuch as may moſt eaſily be abuſed to miſlead them.

Hiſtory repreſents them to us, ſometimes as an old dotard who may be deceived with impunity [q], or as an infant who requires continual amuſement; and ſometimes as diſplaying the diſcernment and ſentiments of elevated minds; as paſſionately fond of pleaſure and of liberty, of indolence and of glory; as intoxicated with flattery, yet receiving merited reproach with applauſe [r]; as poſſeſſing ſufficient penetration to apprehend at a word the plans propoſed to them [s], but too impatient to liſten to the particulars, or to foreſee their conſequences; as making their magiſtrates tremble before them, and at the very moment pardoning their moſt bitter enemies; as paſſing, with the rapidity of lightning, from rage to compaſſion, from deſpondence to inſolence, from injuſtice to repentance; as fickle beyond conception; and ſo frivolous [t], that in the moſt ſerious, nay the moſt deſperate ſituation of affairs, a ſingle word ſpoken at random, a happy ſally of pleaſantry, the ſmalleſt object, the moſt trivial incident, provided it be unexpected, ſuffices to diſpel their fears, or to divert them from their moſt important intereſts.

Thus was it that the whole aſſembly was once ſeen to riſe and run after a little bird that Alcibiades, when young, and ſpeaking for the firſt time in public, had inadvertently ſuffered to eſcape from his boſom [u].

Thus alſo was it, that about the ſame time the orator Cleon, who was become the idol of the Athenians, without poſſeſſing any portion of their eſteem, ſported with the popular favour with impunity. The people were aſſembled, and waiting for him with impatience, when he at length appeared to requeſt them to defer the deliberation to another day, becauſe, expecting ſome foreigners of his acquaintance to dine

[q] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 710, 749, &c.
[r] Plut. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 38.
[t] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 10. t. ii. p. 693. Corn. Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.

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with him, he had not leisure to employ himself about state affairs. The assembly immediately rose, gave him loud plaudits, and the influence of the orator was but increased by this extraordinary behaviour [x].

I saw them myself one day extremely uneasy at some hostilities that had lately been committed by Philip, and that threatened an immediate rupture. At the moment when their minds were in the greatest agitation, a very little and deformed man stood up to speak. This was Leon, ambassador from Byzantium, who, though his personal appearance was of the most unfavourable kind, possessed much of that wit and presence of mind so highly pleasing to the Athenians. At sight of him, they burst into such violent fits of laughter, that Leon could scarcely obtain a moment's silence. At length he said: "What would you say then did you but see my wife? She hardly reaches to my knees. Yet, little as we are, when we disagree, the city of Byzantium is not large enough to hold us." This pleasantry was so successful, that the Athenians immediately granted the succours he came to solicit [y].

In a word, they have been known, after expressing the utmost indignation at some intercepted letters of Philip, which they ordered to be read before them, to pay, notwithstanding, so great a respect to the letters written by that prince to his queen, as to order them to be sent to her unopened [z].

As nothing is more easy than to understand and to inflame the passions and tastes of such a people, it is also extremely easy to acquire their confidence, nor is it less so to lose it; but, whilst in favour, there is nothing which the popular leader may not say or undertake, and he may persuade them to adopt good or evil measures with an equal degree of ardour. When guided by firm and virtuous men, they bestowed the

[x] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 527. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. ibid.

[y] Plut. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 804.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 799.

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offices of the magiſtracy, embaſſies, and the command of armies, only on great abilities united with virtue. In our days they have frequently made a choice at which they ſhould have bluſhed [a]; but it is the fault of the flatterers who direct them, flatterers as dangerous as thoſe of tyrants [b], and who, like them, bluſh only when diſgraced.

The ſenate being dependent on the people, and the people abandoning themſelves without reſerve [c] to their favourite orators, by whom they are miſled, if any thing can preſerve the democracy it muſt be private enmities [d]; it muſt be the facility of proſecuting an orator who makes an improper uſe of his influence. In this caſe he is accuſed of tranſgreſſing the laws; and as the charge may be relative either to his perſon, or the nature of the decree he has propoſed [e], hence ariſe two kinds of accuſation to which he is perpetually liable.

The object of the firſt is to ſtigmatiſe him in the eyes of his fellow citizens. If he has received preſents to betray his country, if his private conduct be found ſullied with any mark of infamy, and eſpecially with thoſe crimes I have already mentioned, and from which his public functions require him to be exempt, every individual is then permitted to commence a proſecution againſt him. This proſecution, which aſſumes different names according to the nature of the offence [f], is commenced before a magiſtrate, who takes cogniſance, in the firſt inſtance, of the delinquency in queſtion. When the fault is trivial, he ſentences him to a trifling penalty [g]; when more important, he refers the caſe to a ſuperior tribunal; and if the crime be proved, the accuſed, among other puniſhments, undergoes that of never more aſcending the roſtrum.

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[a] Eupol. ap. Stob. p. 239.

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 369.

[c] Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Id. in Lept. p. 541.

[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 260. Meinath. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 20.

[e] Iſæus ap. Harpocr. in ἰσονομ. γραφ.

[f] Harpocr. et Suid. in ἰσονομ. γραφ.

[g] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 885.

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Nor have orators, whose circumspect conduct shelters them from this first species of accusation, less to apprehend on that account from the second, which is termed an accusation on account of illegality [h].

Amidst that multitude of decrees we see from time to time enacted with the sanction of the senate and the people, some there are in manifest contradiction to the welfare of the state, and which it is important not to suffer to subsist. But as they were the acts of the legislative power, it should seem that no authority, no tribunal, is competent to annul them. The people themselves should not attempt it, lest the orators, who have already taken them by surprise [i], should again mislead them. What resource then shall there be for the republic? A law, singular indeed at first sight, but admirable in its nature, and so essential as to render it impossible either to suppress or to neglect it, without destroying the democracy [k]; I mean, the law that authorises the very lowest citizen to appeal from a judgment of the whole people, whenever he is able to demonstrate that the new decree is contrary to the laws already established.

In these circumstances, it is the invisible sovereign, it is the laws which loudly protest against the national judgment that has violated them: it is in the name of the laws that the accusation is brought forward; it is before the tribunal, which is the chief depositary and avenger of the laws, that it is prosecuted; and the judges, by setting aside the decree, only pronounce that the authority of the people has happened unintentionally to clash with that of the laws; or rather they maintain the ancient and permanent decisions of the people against their present and transient inclinations.

This remonstrance of the laws having suspended the power which the people had given to their decree, and it being im-

[h] Hume, Political Discourses, disc. 9. v. 2. p. 2.

[i] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 448. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 541.

[k] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 797. Æsch. in Ctes. p. 428 et 459.

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practicable to proceed judicially against the people, an action can only be brought against the orator who proposed the obnoxious decree, and accordingly it is against him that the accusation for illegality is brought. And it is laid down as a principle, that since he has voluntarily interfered in the administration, he has exposed himself to the alternative of honour when he succeeds, and of punishment when his projects prove abortive [l].

The cause is first discussed either before the first or before the last six of the archons [m]. The preliminary proceedings gone through, it is removed to the tribunal of the heliastæ, generally composed of five hundred, and sometimes of a thousand, of fifteen hundred, or two thousand judges. It lies with the same magistrates to determine, according to the nature of the offence, the number they would choose to have for judges, which they have sometimes increased to six thousand [n].

The decree may be attacked when it has only passed the senate, or the accuser may wait till it is confirmed by the people. But, whichever of these measures it may be thought proper to adopt, the action must be brought within the year, to subject the orator to punishment. That period once expired, he is no longer responsible for his decree.

After the prosecutor has produced his arguments for annulling the decree, and the accused has finished his defence, the question is put to the vote [o]. If the former does not obtain the fifth part of the suffrages, he is obliged to pay five hundred drachmas to the public treasury [p] *, and there is an end to the affair. If the decision be unfavourable to the latter, he may still petition for a mitigation of the penalty; but he seldom escapes banishment, interdiction, or heavy pecuniary fines. Here, as in some other causes of a different na-

l Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 309.
m Demosth. de Cor. p. 481. Id. in Leptin. p. 555.
n Andoc. de Myst. p. 3.
o Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 460.
p Demosth. de Cor. p. 489 et 490. Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 397.
* 450 livres (or 18l. 15s. Sterling).

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ture, the intervals for the pleadings and the judgment are divided into three ſittings; the one for the perſon who proſecutes, the other for the accuſed to make his defence, and the third, when it takes place, to decide on the puniſhment [q].

Not an orator but ſhudders at this accuſation, not a manœuvre but he puts in practice to ward off its conſequences. Prayers, tears, negligence of dreſs, the protection of military officers [r], all the artifices of eloquence, all the ſtratagems of policy, are made uſe of by the accuſed and his friends.

Theſe means are often but too ſucceſsful; and we have ſeen the orator Ariſtophon boaſt of having been the object of no leſs than ſeventy-five accuſations of this kind, and of having always eſcaped triumphant [s]. Nevertheleſs, as every orator procures ſeveral decrees to be paſſed during his adminiſtration; as it is eſſential for him to multiply them in order to maintain his authority; as he is ſurrounded by enemies rendered quickſighted by jealouſy; as it is eaſy, by remote deductions, or forced interpretations, to diſcover ſome contrariety between his opinions, his conduct, and the numerous laws that are in force, it is almoſt impoſſible but that he muſt, ſooner or later, fall a victim to the accuſations from which he is inceſſantly in danger.

I have ſaid that the laws of Athens are numerous. Beſides thoſe of Draco which ſtill in part ſubſiſt [t], beſides thoſe of Solon which form the baſis of the civil code, many others have been introduced, either originating in the circumſtances of the times, or which have been adopted through the influence of orators [u].

In every government it is a work of difficulty to ſuppreſs an ancient law, and to ſupply its place by a new one; and this difficulty muſt be ſtill greater with a people who, at once

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[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397.
[r] Æſchin. in Cteſiph p. 428.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 459.
[t] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1062. Andoc. de Myſt. part 2. p. 11.
[u] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554.

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ſubjects and ſovereigns, are always tempted to alleviate or ſhake off the yoke they have impoſed upon themſelves. Solon had ſo bound up the hands of the legiſlative power, as to diſable it from touching the foundations of his legiſlation, except with the moſt extreme precaution.

An individual who propoſes to abrogate an ancient law, muſt at the ſame time be ready to ſubſtitute another [x]. Both of theſe he preſents to the ſenate [y], which, after maturely weighing them, either diſapproves the intended change, or commands the proper officers to lay an account of it before the people in the general aſſembly, whoſe buſineſs it is, among other things, to examine and reviſe the laws in force [z]. This is the aſſembly held on the 11th day of the firſt month of the year [a]. If it appears expedient that the law ſhould actually be repealed, the prytanes refer the matter to the next aſſembly, which is uſually held nineteen days after; and five orators are previouſly nominated, who are appointed to undertake the defence of the law propoſed to be abrogated. In the interval, this law, as well as that to be offered in its place, is daily affixed to certain ſtatues, and expoſed to every eye [b], ſo that each citizen may compare at his leiſure the advantages and inconveniences of them both. Theſe become the topic of converſation in all companies; and thus the public opinion is gradually formed, and openly manifeſts itſelf at the appointed aſſembly. Still, however, nothing can be finally decided. Commiſſioners are named, ſometimes to the number of a thouſand and one, to whom they give the name of legiſlators, and who muſt all have ſat among the heliaſtæ [c]. Theſe form a tribunal, before which appear both the perſon who attacks and thoſe who defend the ancient law. The commiſſioners have the power to abrogate it, without again returning to the people. They next examine whether the

[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554; et in Timocr. p. 778.
[y] Id. in Timocr. p. 781.
[z] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[a] Ulpian. in Tim. p. 811.
[b] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 766 et 777. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 101.

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new law be adapted to circumstances, equally beneficial to all the citizens, and conformable to the other laws; these preliminaries settled, they either confirm it themselves, or present it to the people, who affix to it the seal of authority by their suffrages. The orator who has occasioned this alteration is liable to a prosecution, not for having procured the repeal of an obsolete or useless law, but for introducing another which may eventually prove detrimental.

All new laws must be propounded and discussed in the same manner. Yet, notwithstanding the formalities I have mentioned, notwithstanding the obligation imposed on certain magistrates to make every year an exact revisal of the laws, so great a number of contradictory and obscure ones have insensibly crept into the code, that the Athenians have lately been under the necessity of establishing a special commission to make a proper selection; but their labour has hitherto been fruitless [d].

It is a great advantage, that the nature of the democracy has rendered delays and inquiries necessary, in matters of legislation; but it is often a great misfortune that they are no less unavoidable on occasions that call for celerity and dispatch. In a monarchy, a single moment suffices to promulgate and carry into execution the will of the sovereign [e]. Here the senate must be first consulted; the assembly of the people be convoked; and they must have time to be informed, to deliberate, to decide. The execution of their determinations is subject to still more impediments. All these obstacles so greatly retard the progress of affairs, that the people are sometimes obliged to refer their decision to the senate [f]; but it is with regret they submit to make this sacrifice, dreading the revival of a faction composed of the partisans of the aristocracy [g], a faction which formerly stripped

d Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 433. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 554.
e Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321.
f Id. ibid. p. 317.
g Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 387 et 427. Theophr. Charact. cap. 26. Casaub. ibid. Corn. Nep. in Phoc. cap. 3.

them of their authority. At present this party is in a state of depression; but that circumstance would render them only the more ardent in their exertions to destroy a power by which they are kept down and humbled. The people hate them the more, as they make no distinction between their power and the tyranny of a single person.

Hitherto we have considered the senate and the people as solely occupied with the great object of government: they should be regarded likewise, in some measure, as two courts of justice, in which certain offences are prosecuted [h]; and what will appear extraordinary, is, that, excepting some trifling pecuniary fines which the senate are empowered to impose [i], other causes, after undergoing the judgment of the senate, of the people, or of both, one after the other, are, or are liable to be, removed to a tribunal that determines in the last resort [k]. I have known a citizen, accused of embezzling the public money, first condemned by the senate, then by the suffrages of the people, which were in suspense for a whole day, and finally by two tribunals, forming together the number of a thousand and one judges [l].

It has been thought, with reason, that the executive power, distinguished from the legislative, should never be converted into a vile instrument of the latter. But I am compelled to own, that in times of trouble and corruption, so wise a law has more than once been violated, and that orators have occasionally induced the people whom they governed, to keep back certain causes, in order to prevent some individuals, whom they had devoted to destruction, from obtaining relief in the ordinary courts of justice [m] *.

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h Andoc de Myst. part. 1. p. 2.

i Demosth. in Everg. p. 1058.

k Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 588. Demosth. ibid. Liban. Argum. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 601.

l Demosth. in Timocr. p. 774.

m Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

* In support of this fact, I have cited Aristotle, who, from motives of prudence, does not name the republic of Athens; but it is evident that he alludes to it in this passage.

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CHAP. XV.

Of the Magiſtrates of Athens.

In that violent conflict between paſſions and duties, which muſt infallibly ariſe wherever there are men, and ſtill more where theſe men are free, and think themſelves independent, it is neceſſary that an authority continually armed to repreſs and puniſh licentiouſneſs ſhould with unceaſing vigilance watch over and prevent its progreſs; and as a ſingle authority cannot always immediately act, it alſo becomes neceſſary, by the inſtitution of ſeveral magiſtrates, to render this power at once formidable and omnipreſent.

The people aſſemble on the four laſt days of the year, to nominate to the different offices of the magiſtracy [n]; and though, by the law of Ariſtides [o], they may confer theſe offices on the loweſt of the Athenians, they very rarely grant thoſe which may affect the ſafety of the ſtate to any but the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens [p]. Their will is declared either by the way of ſuffrage, or by lot [q].

The places then diſpoſed of are very numerous. The perſons who are appointed to them muſt undergo an examination before the tribunal of the heliaſtæ [r]; and, as if this probation were inſufficient, the people are aſked, at the firſt monthly aſſembly, or prytany, whether they have any complaints to allege againſt their magiſtrates [s]. On the ſlighteſt accuſation, the chiefs of the aſſembly proceed to put the matter to the vote; and if the queſtion be decided againſt the accuſed magiſtrate, he is removed from office, and brought

[n] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 429. Suid. in Ἀρχαί. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 697.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 37. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.

[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 691. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

[q] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832. Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 432. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 1. Potter. Archæolog. lib. 1. cap. 11.

[r] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 429. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 44. Harpocr. et Heſych. in Δοκιμ.

[s] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 87.

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before a court of justice, the determination of which is final [t].

The first and most important of these magistracies is that of the archons, composed of nine of the principal citizens, invested not only with the superintendance of the police, but empowered to receive, in the first instance, all public informations, and the complaints of oppressed citizens.

Their nomination must be preceded, or immediately followed, by two examinations, one before the senate, the other before the tribunal of the heliastæ [u]. Among other conditions [x], it is requisite that they should be the children and grandchildren of citizens; that they always should have paid a proper veneration to their parents, and have borne arms in the service of the country. They next swear to maintain the laws, and to accept no presents [y]. They take this oath on the originals of the laws themselves, which are preserved with a most religious veneration. Another motive still more disposes them inviolably to observe what they have sworn. On going out of office, they have hopes, after another examination, to be admitted into the senate of the Areopagus [z], the highest object of ambition to a virtuous mind.

Their persons, as well as those of all the magistrates, are sacred. Whoever should insult them by any act of violence, or improper language, when they have the crown of myrtle [a], the symbol of their authority, on their heads, would be excluded from most of the privileges of a citizen, or sentenced to pay a fine; but they must merit likewise by their conduct the respect annexed to their office.

The three first archons have each a particular tribunal, where they sit, accompanied by two assessors chosen by them-

[t] Harpocr. et Suid. in Κατάχειρ.

[u] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 432. Demost. in Leptin. p. 554. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 86. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 237.

[x] Poll. ibid. § 85 et 86.

[y] Id. ibid. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 92. ib.

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Id. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 118.

[a] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 86. Hesych. in Μυῤῥίν. Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 6. cap. 6.

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ſelves [b]. The laſt ſix, called theſmothetæ, form only one and the ſame juriſdiction. Theſe different tribunals take cognizance of different kinds of cauſes [c].

The archons are empowered to draw by lot the judges of the ſuperior courts [d]. They have functions and prerogatives common to them all; and others that are peculiar to a ſingle archon. The firſt archon, for example, called the eponymus, from his name appearing at the head of the acts and decrees paſſed during his year of office, has more eſpecially under his care widows and minors [e]; the ſecond, or king-archon, is to exclude from the myſteries and religious ceremonies all who have been guilty of homicide [f]; and the third, or polemarch, exerciſes a kind of juriſdiction over foreigners ſettled at Athens [g]. All three preſide ſeparately at feſtivals and ſolemn games. The laſt ſix regulate the days for the ſitting of the ſuperior courts [h]; go their rounds during the night to maintain order and tranquillity in the city [i], and preſide at the elections of ſeveral ſubordinate magiſtrates [k].

After the election of the archons ſucceeds that of the ſtrategi or generals of armies, of the hipparchi or generals of the cavalry [l], of the officers employed in the collection and cuſtody of the public revenue [m], of the perſons who are to take care that the city is ſupplied with proviſions, of thoſe who ſuperintend the highways, and many others, whoſe functions are leſs important.

Sometimes the tribes, aſſembled in virtue of a decree of the people, chooſe inſpectors and treaſurers, to repair ſuch public works as are falling into decay [n].

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b Æſchin. adv. Tim. p. 284. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 872 et 874. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 92.

c Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 956; in Pantæn. p. 992.

d Poll. ibid. § 87.

e Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Lacrit. et in Pantæn. ibid.

f Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.

g Demoſth. in Zeneth. p. 932. Pollux, ibid.

h Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 87.

i Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 650.

k Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 429.

l Id. ibid.

m Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8. t. i. p. 422. Poll. ib. lib. 8. § 97. Plut. in Lyc. t. ii p. 841.

n Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 432.

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The magiſtrates of almoſt all theſe departments are reſpectively ten in number; and as it is the nature of the government uniformly to tend towards equality, one of the number is choſen from each tribe.

One of the moſt uſeful eſtabliſhments of this kind is a chamber of accounts, which is annually re-choſen in the general aſſembly of the people, and conſiſts of ten officers [o]. In this chamber the archons, the members of the ſenate, the commanders of the galleys, the ambaſſadors [p], the Areopagites, nay even the miniſters of the altars, in a word, all perſons who have executed any commiſſion under the government, muſt appear, ſome on going out of office, others at ſtated periods; the former to account for the ſums they have received, the latter to juſtify their conduct, and others again merely to prove that they are liable to no cenſure.

Such as refuſe to appear are neither allowed to make a will, to leave the country [q], to fill any office of magiſtracy a ſecond time [r], nor to receive from the public the civic crown decreed to thoſe who have ſerved the ſtate faithfully [s]; they may even be impeached before the ſenate, or other tribunals, which may inflict on them ſtill more diſgraceful marks of infamy [t]. As ſoon as they are out of office, they are liable to a proſecution at the ſuit of any private citizen [u]. If they are charged with peculation, the chamber of accounts takes cognizance of the accuſation; if they are accuſed of any other crimes, the cauſe is inſtantly removed to the ordinary tribunals [x].

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[o] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. 430. Harpocr. et Etymol. in Λογίς.
[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 45.
[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 430.
[r] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 796.
[s] Æſchin. ibid. p. 429, &c.
[t] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 617.
[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 431. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 663.
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 45.

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CHAP. XVI.

Of the Athenian Courts of Justice.

THE right of protecting innocence is not acquired at Athens either by birth or riches. It is the privilege of every citizen [y]. As all may be present at the assembly of the nation, and decide on the interests of the state, all are likewise entitled to give their suffrages in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, is neither an employment nor a function of magistracy; it is a temporary commission, respectable for its object, but degraded by the motives that determine the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain renders them assiduous at the tribunals, as well as at the general assembly. Three oboli * are distributed to each at every sitting [z], which trifling recompence forms an annual expenditure for the state of about one hundred and fifty talents †; for the number of judges is prodigious, and amounts to about six thousand [a].

An Athenian who is more than thirty years of age, who has led an irreproachable life, and who owes nothing to the public treasure, possesses the qualification requisite to discharge the judicial functions [b]. The court in which he is to sit is annually determined by lot [c].

In this manner are the tribunals filled; and of these, ten principal ones are enumerated, four for homicide, and six for

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[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

* About nine sols (or fourpence halfpenny).

[z] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 8 cap. 5. § 20.

† 810,000 livres (33,750l.) The following is the calculation of the Scholiast of Aristophanes (in Vesp. v. 661.) Two months were dedicated to festivals. The tribunals then were open only during 10 months, or 300 days. It cost each day 18,000 oboli, that is to say, 3000 drachmas, or half a talent, and consequently 15 talents monthly, or 150 per annum. Samuel Petit has controverted this calculation (page 325).

[a] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 660. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 324.

[b] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 122. Pet. ibid. p. 306.

[c] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 832. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 277.

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other causes, as well criminal as civil. Among the former, one takes cognizance of involuntary homicide; a second, of homicide committed in self-defence; a third, of murder, the perpetrator of which, formerly banished his country for this crime, shall not have obtained a revocation of the decree previous to his return; a fourth, of homicide occasioned by the fall of a stone, a tree, and other such accidents [d]. We shall see, in the succeeding chapter, that the Areopagus took cognizance of premeditated murder.

So many jurisdictions for the same crime by no means prove that it is at this time more common in Athens than in other countries, but only that they were instituted in ages which knew no other right than force; and in truth they are all of the heroic ages. The origin of the other tribunals is unknown; but they must have been formed gradually, in proportion as societies becoming more perfectly civilized, artifice has taken place of violence.

These ten sovereign courts, composed in general of five hundred judges [e], and some of a still greater number, possess no inherent activity, but are set in motion by the nine archons. Each of these magistrates carries thither the causes that have fallen within his department, and presides in this court whilst they are depending [f].

It being improper for these assemblies to meet at the same time with those of the people, since they are both composed nearly of the same persons [g], it is the duty of the archons to appoint the time for the meeting of the former; it is their business likewise to draw by lot the judges who are to fill these different tribunals.

The most celebrated is that of the heliastæ [h], before which all causes of consequence either to the state or individuals are

d Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 122.

e Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123.

f Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 641. Harpocr. in Ἡγεμὼν δικαστ.

g Demosth. in Timocr. p. 786.

h Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 69. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἡλιαστ.

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brought. We have just said, that it consists in general of five hundred judges; and that, on certain occasions, the magistrates order other tribunals to unite themselves with that of the heliastæ, insomuch that the number sometimes is increased even to six thousand [i].

These engage by a solemn oath to decide according to the laws and the decrees of the senate and the people, to receive no present, to listen impartially to both parties, and to oppose with their utmost power all persons who shall make the least attempt to introduce innovations in the form of government. Dreadful imprecations against themselves and their families, should they violate it, conclude this oath, which contains several less essential particulars [k].

Were I, in this and the succeeding chapters, to attempt to follow the Athenian jurisprudence through all its mazes, I should inevitably bewilder myself in an obscure and difficult labyrinth; but I cannot overlook an institution which appears to me highly favourable to those who, though they appeal to the laws, wish not to be litigious. Every year, forty inferior judges go the circuit through the different towns of Attica [l], hold their assizes there, decide on certain acts of violence [m], and terminate all processes for small sums, not exceeding ten drachmas *, referring more considerable causes to arbitration [n].

These arbitrators are all persons of good reputation, and about sixty years of age. At the end of every year, they are drawn by lot out of each tribe, to the number of forty-four [o].

Persons who do not choose to expose themselves to the delays of ordinary justice, to deposit a sum of money previous

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i Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 187. Lys. in Agorat. p. 244. Andoc. de Myst. part 2. p. 3.

k Demosth in Timocr. p. 796.

l Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 100.

m Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.

* 9 livres (or 7 shillings and sixpence.)

n Poll. ibid.

o Suid. in Hesych. Δικαστ. Ulpian. in Dem. Mid. p. 663.

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to the judgment, or to pay the fine decreed against the plaintiff failing in his proofs, may confide their interests to one or more arbitrators nominated by themselves, or whom the archon draws by lot in their presence [p]. When the arbitrators are of their own choice, they take an oath to abide by their decision, from which they then cannot appeal; but if they are chosen by lot, they are not deprived of that resource [q]; and the arbitrators, enclosing the depositions of the witnesses, and all the documents of the process, in a box, which they carefully seal up, transmit them to the archon, whose duty it is to lay the cause before one of the higher tribunals [r].

If the archon has referred the matter in dispute to arbitrators drawn by lot, at the request only of one party, the adverse party has the right either to demur against the competence of the tribunal, or to allege other exceptions [s].

Arbitrators called upon to decide in affairs where one of the parties are their friends or relations, might be tempted to pronounce an iniquitous judgment: in such cases, it is provided, that the cause may be removed into one of the sovereign courts [t]. They might also permit themselves to be corrupted by presents, or be influenced by private prejudices: in which case the injured party has a right, at the expiration of the year, to prosecute them in a court of justice, and compel them to defend, and show the reasons of their award [u]. The fear of such a scrutiny might likewise induce them to elude the exercise of these functions: but the law has provided against that, by fixing a stigma on every arbitrator, who, when drawn by lot, refuses to perform his duty [x].

When I heard, for the first time, of an oath, I considered it as necessary only among rude nations, to whom falsehood might appear perhaps less criminal than perjury. Yet have I

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[p] Herald. Animadvers. lib. 5. cap. 14. p. 570. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 344.

[q] Demosth. in Aphob. p. 918. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 127.

[r] Herald. Animadv. p. 372.

[s] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662.

[t] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 943.

[u] Id. in Mid. p. 617. Ulpian. p. 663.

[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 126.

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ſeen the Athenians exact it from magiſtrates, ſenators, judges, orators, witneſſes; from the accuſer who has ſo evident an intereſt to violate it, and from the accuſed, who is driven to the dilemma of offending againſt his religion, or fixing guilt on himſelf. But I have obſerved likewiſe, that this awful ceremony was now no more than a form, which is an inſult on the gods, uſeleſs to ſociety, and offenſive to thoſe who are under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to it. The philoſopher Xenocrates, being called upon one day to give his teſtimony, made his depoſition, and advanced towards the altar to confirm it. The judges bluſhed; and unanimouſly oppoſing the adminiſtration of the oath, rendered the higheſt honour to the integrity of ſo reſpectable a witneſs [y]. What idea then muſt they have entertained of the others?

The inhabitants of the iſlands and cities in ſubjection to the republic, are obliged to have their legal diſputes decided in the laſt reſort [z] before the tribunals of Athens. The ſtate derives a benefit from the duties they pay on entering the port, and the ſums they expend during their reſidence in the city. Another motive induces the Athenians to deprive them of the advantage of terminating their differences at home. If they had ſovereign juriſdictions, they would only have to look up to their governors for protection, and on numberleſs occaſions might oppreſs the friends of the democracy; whereas, by being obliged to repair to Athens, they are forced to humble themſelves before that people who are their judges in the tribunals, and who are but too well diſpoſed to deal out the juſtice they ſolicit according to the meaſure of affection they are ſuppoſed to entertain for their authority.

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[y] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1. epiſt. 16. t. viii. p. 69. Id. pro. Balb. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 127. Val. Max. lib. 2. extern. cap. 10. Laert. in Xenocr. § 7.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 694. Ariſtoph. in Avib. v. 1422 et 1455.

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CHAP. XVII.

Of the Areopagus.

THE ſenate of the Areopagus, though the moſt ancient, is yet the moſt upright of the Athenian tribunals. It aſſembles ſometimes in the royal portico [a]; but its ordinary place of meeting is on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel [b], and in a kind of hall, defended from the weather only by a ruſtic roof [c].

The number of ſenators is unlimited, and their places held for life [d]. The archons are admitted into this court after their year of office is expired [e]; but not till they have proved, in a ſolemn examination, that they have diſcharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity [f]. If, in this examination, any ſhould be found either artful or powerful enough to elude the ſeverity of their cenſors, it is impoſſible for them, once become Areopagites, to reſiſt the authority of example; and they are forced to appear virtuous [g], as in certain military corps men are under the neceſſity of diſplaying courage.

The reputation this tribunal has enjoyed for ſo many centuries is founded on titles that will tranſmit its fame to ſucceeding ages [h]. Innocence, ſummoned to appear before it, approaches without apprehenſion; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retire without daring to murmur [i].

The Areopagus keeps a ſtrict eye over the conduct of its members, and judges them without partiality, ſometimes even for trivial faults. A ſenator was puniſhed for having ſtifled a little bird, which, from fear, had taken refuge in his

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[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.

[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 52.

[c] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 118. Vitruv. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[d] Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv Androt. p 697.

[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Lept. p. 586.

[f] Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll ibid.

[g] Iſocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 329 et 330.

[h] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. 1. epiſt 14.

[i] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 735. Lycurg. in Leocrat. part 2. p. 149. Ariſtid. in Panath. t. i. p. 185.

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bosom [k]. He was thus taught, that he who has a heart shut against pity, should not be allowed to have the lives of the citizens at his mercy. The decisions of this court, therefore, are considered as standards, not only of wisdom, but of humanity. I saw a woman brought before it, accused of procuring the death of some person by poison. She had endeavoured to gain the affections of a man whom she passionately loved, by a philter of which he died. She was dismissed without punishment, the court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable [l] *.

Certain public bodies, as a recompence for their services, obtain a crown and other marks of honour from the people. That I am speaking of asks none, nor must solicit any [m], nothing distinguishing it so much as that it has no need of distinctions. In the infancy of comedy, all the Athenians were permitted to employ their genius in this new species of literature: the members of the Areopagus were alone excepted [n]; and, indeed, with what propriety could men so grave in their deportment, so rigid in their manners, pay attention to, or ridicule the follies of society?

The origin of this court is traced back to the time of Cecrops [o] but it is indebted for one more noble to Solon, who invested it with the superintendance of morals [p]. It then took cognizance of almost all crimes, all vices, and abuses. Murder, poisoning, robbery, conflagrations, libertinism, and innovations, either in the system of religion or the form of government, by turns excited its vigilance. It was empowered, by entering and examining private houses, to condemn every useless citizen as dangerous, and every expence not proportioned to the means of the citizen as criminal [q]. As it exhibited the greatest firmness in punishing crimes, and the

k Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1591.
l Aristot. in Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap 17. t. ii. p. 157.
* See note at the end of the volume.
m Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430.
n Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348.
o Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3.
p Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
q Meurs. Areop. cap. 9.

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niceſt circumſpection in reforming manners; as it never employed chaſtiſement till advice and menaces were ſlighted [r]; it acquired the eſteem and love of the people, even while it exerciſed the moſt abſolute power.

The education of youth became the firſt object of its cares [s]. It pointed out to the children of citizens the path they ſhould purſue, and aſſigned them guides to conduct them in it. The Areopagus has been often known to ſtimulate by its bounties the emulation of the troops, and to decree rewards to individuals who diſcharged in obſcurity the duties of their ſtation [t]. It exerted ſo much zeal and conſtancy in maintaining the laws during the Perſian war, as greatly to add to the energy of government [u].

This inſtitution, too ſublime to have any long duration, ſubſiſted but about a century. Pericles undertook to enfeeble an authority incompatible with his own [x]. He had the miſfortune to ſucceed; and from that moment there was an end to cenſors in the ſtate, or rather all the citizens aſſumed that office. Accuſations and informations multiplied, and morals received a fatal blow.

Its preſent juriſdiction, properly ſpeaking, is confined to murder, maimings, poiſonings, firing of buildings [y], and ſome other leſs conſiderable offences [z].

When the caſe is murder, the ſecond archon receives the informations, lays them before the Areopagus, takes his place among the judges [a], and pronounces with them the puniſhment preſcribed by laws engraven on a column [b].

When it is a crime that concerns religion or the ſtate, the power of this court is limited to preparing the matter for a

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[r] Iſocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 334.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 332.
[t] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 9.
[u] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 391.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 59. Plut. in Pericl. p. 157.
[y] Lyſ. in Simon. p. 69. Demoſth. adv. Bœot. 2. p. 1012. Id. in Lept. p. 564. Liban. in Orat. adv. Androt. p. 696. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 117.
[z] Lyſ. Orat. Areop. p. 132.
[a] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.
[b] Lyſ. in Eratoſt. p. 17.

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trial. Sometimes it takes the informations of its own motion; ſometimes this office is aſſigned to it by the aſſembly of the people [c]. The proceedings ended, it makes its report to the people without coming to any concluſion. The accuſed then has it in his power to offer new pleas in his defence; and the people name orators to conduct the proſecution before one of the ſuperior courts.

Trials in the Areopagus are preceded by tremendous ceremonies. The two parties, placed amid the bleeding members of the victims, take an oath, which they confirm by dreadful imprecations againſt themſelves and families [d]. They call to witneſs the inexorable Eumenides, who, from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to their worſhip [e], ſeem to liſten to their invocation, and prepare to puniſh the perjured.

After theſe preliminaries, they proceed to the trial; in which truth alone is entitled to preſent herſelf to the judges, who dread eloquence not leſs than falſehood. The advocates muſt ſcrupulouſly baniſh from their harangues all exordia, perorations, digreſſions, and every ornament of ſtyle, nay, even the language of ſentiment; that language which ſo violently inflames the imagination, and has ſo great a power over commiſerating minds [f]. Paſſion would paint itſelf in vain in the eyes and geſtures of the orator, ſince the Areopagus generally holds its aſſemblies in the night.

The queſtion having been ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the judges depoſit in ſilence their ſuffrages in two urns, one of which is called the urn of death, the other the urn of mercy [g]. When the numbers are equal, an inferior officer adds, in favour of the accuſed, the ſuffrage of Minerva [h]; ſo called, becauſe, according to an ancient tradition, this goddeſs, being preſent

[c] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 179, 180, &c.

[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736. Dinarch. adv. Dem. p. 178.

[e] Meurſ, in Areop. cap. 2.

[f] Lyſ. adv. Simon. p. 88. Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 149. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 899. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 117.

[g] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 8.

[h] Ariſtid. Orat. in Min. t. i. p. 24.

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in the court of Areopagus at the trial of Orestes, gave her casting vote to turn the scale of justice.

On important occasions, when the people, inflamed by their orators, are on the point of adopting some measure injurious to the welfare of the state, the Areopagites have sometimes presented themselves to the assembly, and by arguments or entreaties prevailed on them to listen to reason [i]. The people, who have nothing to fear from their authority, but who respect their wisdom, sometimes permit them to revise their decisions. The facts I am about to mention happened in my time.

A citizen who had been banished from Athens, had the temerity to return. He was accused before the people, who thought proper to acquit him, at the instigation of a favourite orator. The Areopagus taking cognizance of the affair, ordered the criminal to be seized, recommenced the prosecution, and prevailed on the people to condemn him [k].

Deputies were to be sent to the council of the Amphictyons, and amongst those whom the people had made choice of was the orator Æschines, whose conduct was not entirely exempt from suspicion. The Areopagus, on whose stern virtue talents without probity make no impression, instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Æschines, and pronounced that the orator Hyperides appeared to them more worthy of so honourable a commission. The people immediately appointed Hyperides [l].

It is a pleasing reflection that the Areopagus, stripped as it is of almost all its functions, has neither forfeited its reputation, nor departed from its integrity, but even in its decline continues to command the public respect. I shall mention another example that passed under my eyes.

The Areopagus had repaired to the general assembly, to give its opinion respecting the project of a citizen named Ti-

i Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
k Demosth. de Coron. p. 495.
l Id. ibid.

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marchus, who was ſoon after proſcribed for the depravity of his manners. Autolycus addreſſed them in the name of the whole court. This ſenator, educated in the ſimplicity of ancient times, and a ſtranger to the ſhameful abuſe to which the moſt ordinary terms of converſation are now perverted, ſuffered a word to drop from him, which, miſconſtrued from its real ſenſe, admitted of an alluſion to the licentious life of Timarchus. The whole aſſembly applauded him in a tranſport, and Autolycus, aſtoniſhed, aſſumed a ſeverer countenance. After a moment's pauſe, he attempted to proceed; but the people putting an arch conſtruction on the moſt innocent expreſſions, never ceaſed to interrupt him by a confuſed noiſe and immoderate burſts of laughter. A diſtinguiſhed citizen now riſing, exclaimed, Are you not aſhamed, Athenians, to be guilty of ſuch indecency in preſence of the Areopagites? The people anſwered, that they felt all the veneration due to the majeſty of that tribunal; but that there were circumſtances in which it was impoſſible to reſtrain themſelves within the bounds of decorum [m]. What virtues muſt not this body have poſſeſſed to have eſtabliſhed and maintained ſo high an opinion of the reſpect due to it in the minds of the people; and what good might it not have produced, had they known how to value it as it deſerved?

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Accuſations and Legal Procedures among the Athenians.

THE cauſes brought before the courts of juſtice concern either offences againſt the government, or againſt individuals. In the former caſe, every citizen may indiſcriminately ſtep forward as a proſecutor; in the latter, the injured perſon alone poſſeſſes that right. The puniſhment for crimes againſt

[m] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 272.

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the ſtate is often capital; but for offences againſt individuals, it is confined to damages and pecuniary ſatisfaction.

In a democracy, more than in any other government, the injury done to the ſtate becomes perſonal to every citizen, and violence towards an individual is a crime againſt the ſtate [t]. At Athens it is not thought ſufficient that public proſecutions may be commenced againſt thoſe who betray their country, or are guilty of impiety, ſacrilege, or firing the city [u]: ſuch a proſecution lies alſo againſt the general who has not performed every thing which he ought to have done or might have done; againſt the ſoldier who abſents himſelf from the enrolment, or deſerts from the army; againſt the ambaſſador, the magiſtrate, the judge, or the orator, who have been guilty of miſconduct; againſt the individual who has aſſumed the privileges of a citizen, without the neceſſary qualifications, or who has taken on himſelf any office from which he is excluded; againſt the man who corrupts his judges, debauches youth, remains in celibacy, or attacks the life or honour of a citizen; in fine, againſt all who are guilty of offences which evidently tend to diſturb the government, or endanger the ſafety of the citizens.

Litigations on the ſubject of a diſputed inheritance, a breach of truſt, an uncertain debt, damage received in property, and a variety of other caſes which do not immediately concern the ſtate, afford matter of trial between the parties [x].

The proceedings vary in ſome points, as well from the difference of the courts in which they are inſtituted as from that of the offences. I ſhall confine myſelf to the eſſential formalities.

Public actions are ſometimes commenced before the ſenate, or before the people [y], who, after a firſt deciſion, refer them

[t] Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 610.
[u] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 40; &c.
[x] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. lib. 3.
[y] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 603; in Everg. p. 1058. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 51. Harpocr. in Εἰσαγ.

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to one of the superior courts [z]; but, in general, the accuser addresses himself to one of the chief magistrates [a], who puts several interrogatories to him, and asks him whether he has reflected well on the step he is about to take, if he is prepared, if it would not be to his advantage to have further proofs, if he has witnesses, if he wishes to be provided with any. He apprises him at the same time that he must take an oath to go on with the prosecution, and that a kind of infamy is annexed to the violation of that oath. He then appoints the trial, and makes the accuser appear a second time in his presence, when he repeats the same questions; and if he still persists, his declaration remains fixed up in some public place, till the judges are ready to hear the cause [b].

The accused then puts in his plea, grounded either on a former decision, long prescription, or the incompetence of the court [c]. He may put off the trial, bring an action against his adversary, and defer for some time the judgment which he fears.

After these preliminaries, which are not practicable in all cases, the parties swear to speak the truth, and personally begin to discuss the cause. They are allowed a limited time to explain themselves, measured by drops of water falling from a vessel [d]. In general they do but repeat what more eloquent tongues have dictated to them in private. After they have done speaking, they may solicit the assistance of orators who possess their confidence, or interest themselves in their fate [e].

In the course of the trial, the witnesses give their testimony aloud. For in criminal, as well as in civil cases, it is

[z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 633. Herald. Animadv. p. 233.

[a] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 314.

[b] Demosth. in Theocrin. p. 850. Id. in Mid. p. 619 et 620. Ulp in Orat. adv. Mid. p. 641, 662 et 668. Pet. Leg. Att. 318.

[c] Demosth. adv. Pantæn. p. 292. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 57. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[d] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 172. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 693. Schol. ibid. Demosth. et Æschin. passim. Lucian. Piscat. cap. 28. t. i. p. 597.

[e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 863. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 424. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 461.

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a rule that all proceedings ſhould be public. The accuſer may require the ſlaves of the adverſe party to be put to the torture [f]. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive that a barbarity ſo dreadful could have been exerciſed on men whoſe fidelity ought not to be tempted, if they are attached to their maſters; and whoſe teſtimony cannot but be ſuſpicious if they are diſcontented with them. Sometimes one of the parties, of his own free will, preſents his ſlaves to this inhuman proof [g], perſuaded that he has the right, as he unfortunately has the power, to commit this cruel act. Sometimes he refuſes the requiſition made him for this purpoſe [h], either from the dread of a depoſition extorted by the violence of the tortures, or that his heart liſtens to the remonſtrances of humanity; but his refuſal in this caſe gives room for the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions, whilſt nothing inſpires a more favourable prejudice in behalf of the parties or witneſſes, than when they offer, as a corroboration of what they affirm, to take an oath upon the head of their children, or of their parents [i].

We ſhall only curſorily obſerve, that the torture cannot be inflicted on a citizen but in extraordinary caſes.

Previous to pronouncing the judgment, the magiſtrate who preſides at the tribunal, diſtributes to each of the judges a white ball to acquit, and a black one to condemn, the party accuſed [k]. An officer appriſes them that the queſtion is ſimply confined to the deciſion of guilty, or not guilty, and they proceed to depoſit their ſuffrages in a box. If there be a majority of black balls, the preſident of the court traces out a long line on a tablet covered with wax, expoſed to every eye; if the white are moſt numerous, a ſhorter line [l]; and if the voices be equal, the accuſed is acquitted [m].

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f Demoſth in Neær p. 880; in Onet. 1. p. 924; in Pantæn. p 993.

g Id. in Aphob. 3. p. 913; in Nicoſtr. p. 1107.

h Demoſth. in Steph. 1. p. 977 Iſocr in Trapezit. t. ii p. 477.

i Demoſth. in Aphop. 3. p. 913. et 917.

k Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123. Meurſ. Areop. cap. 8.

l Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 806. Schol. ibid.

m Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 469. Ariſtot. Problem ſect. 29. t. ii. p. 812. Id. de Rhetor. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 628.

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In cases where the punishment is specified by law, this first judgment is sufficient; but when that is only expressed in the declaration of the prosecutor, the offender has a right to demand a mitigation; and this second question is decided by a new trial, to which they instantly proceed [n].

He who, having commenced a prosecution, either drops it, or fails in obtaining the fifth part of the suffrages [o], is generally sentenced to a penalty of one thousand drachmas *. But as nothing is so easy nor so dangerous as invidious accusations on the subject of religion, the punishment of death is decreed, in certain cases, against the man who shall accuse another of impiety, without being able to convict him [p].

Private causes are, in many points, conducted in the same mode with public prosecutions, and are, for the most part, brought, in the first instance, before the tribunals of the archons, who sometimes pronounce a sentence subject to an appeal [q], and sometimes content themselves with taking the necessary informations, which they lay before the superior courts [r].

There are causes which may be prosecuted civilly by a private accusation, and criminally by a public action. Such is the nature of an insult committed on the person of a citizen [s]. The laws, whose intention it is to provide for his safety, authorise all his fellow citizens publicly to prosecute the aggressor; but the choice of his vengeance is left to the offended, who may sue for a sum of money if he brings a civil action, and even punish the offender with death, if he lays a criminal indictment. The orators frequently abuse these laws, by changing, by insidious artifices, those suits into criminal, which in their origin were merely civil.

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[n] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timarch. p. 822. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 335.

[o] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 36. Demosth de Cor. p. 517; in Mid. p. 610; in Androt. p. 702; in Aristocr. p. 738; in Timocr. p. 774; in Theocrin. p. 850.

* 900 livres (or 37l. 10s). This sum was very considerable when the law was first made.

[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 41.

[q] Demosth. in Onet. i. p. 92 H. in Olymp. p. 1068. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

[r] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 641.

[s] Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 128.

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Nor is this the only danger the parties have to apprehend. I have ſeen judges, inattentive during the reading of the documents, loſe ſight of the queſtion, and give their ſuffrages at a venture [t]; I have ſeen men, powerful from their wealth, publicly inſult the poorer people, who durſt not demand reparation for the offence [u]; I have ſeen them eternize, in ſome ſort, a law-ſuit, by obtaining ſucceſſive delays, and prevent the tribunals from determining on their crimes, till the public indignation had ſubſided [x]; I have ſeen them appear in court, eſcorted by a numerous retinue of corrupt witneſſes, and even of honeſt men, who, from weakneſs, ſubmitted to increaſe the train of their attendants, and lend them the ſanction of their preſence [y]: I have ſeen them, in a word, arm the ſuperior tribunals againſt ſubordinate judges who had refuſed to aid them in their unjuſt proceedings [z].

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, there are ſo many modes of getting rid of a rival, or of taking vengeance of an enemy; ſo many public accuſations are combined with private litigations, that it may be confidently aſſerted, that more cauſes are brought before the tribunals of Athens than before thoſe of all Greece [a]. This abuſe is inevitable in a ſtate, which, in order to reſtore its exhauſted finances, has frequently no other reſource but that of facilitating public accuſations, and of profiting by the confiſcations ariſing from them: it is inevitable in a ſtate in which the citizens, obliged mutually to watch each other, perpetually ſtruggling for honours, contending for employments, and having accounts to ſettle with the government, neceſſarily aſſume the character of ſpies and cenſors. A multitude of informers, always odious, but always formidable, inflame theſe inteſtine diſſenſions; diſſeminate ſuſpicions and diffidence through ſociety; and audaciouſly ſeize on the remains of the fortunes they have ruined.

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[t] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 459.
[u] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 616 et 621.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 625.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 617.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 699.

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They have indeed against them the severity of the laws, and the contempt of virtuous men; but in their favour they have the pretext of public good, so often made an instrument in the hands of ambition and private enmity; and they have also, what is of still more avail to obtain their ends, their effrontery and their insolence.

The Athenians are less terrified than foreigners at the vices of an absolute democracy. The extreme of liberty appears to them so great a blessing, that, to preserve it, they sacrifice even their tranquillity. Besides, if public accusations be a subject of terror to some, they contribute to the pleasure and entertainment of the rest of the people, as they have almost all a decided taste for the chicane and artifices of the bar, to which they give themselves up with that ardour which especially characterizes them in all their pursuits [b]. Their activity derives new life from eternal and subtle discussions of their interests; and it is possibly to this, more than to any other cause, that we are to attribute that superior penetration, and that turbulent eloquence, which distinguish the Athenians from every other people on earth.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Crimes and Punishments.

Some penal laws are engraven on columns placed near the tribunals [c]. If such monuments could be so multiplied as to exhibit an exact scale of all offences, and the corresponding punishments, we should see more equity in judgments, and fewer crimes would be committed against society. But no attempt has any where been made to appreciate each particular transgression; yet is it matter of universal complaint that

[b] Aristoph in Pac. v. 504. Id. in Equit. v. 1314. Schol. ibid.

[c] Lys. pro Cæd. Eratost. p. 17. Andoc. de Myster. p. 12.

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there is no uniform ſtandard for the puniſhment of the guilty. The juriſprudence of Athens ſupplies, in many caſes, the ſilence of the laws. We have already ſaid, that when theſe do not ſpecify the penalty, a previous trial is neceſſary to declare the culprit convicted of the crime, and a ſecond to determine the chaſtiſement he merits [d]. In the interval between theſe deciſions, the judges demand of the offender to what puniſhment he would condemn himſelf. He is allowed to make choice of that which is the mildeſt and leaſt injurious to his intereſt, though the accuſer may have called for the ſevereſt and that moſt conformable to his hatred: the orators diſcuſs both; and the judges, acting in ſome meaſure as arbitrators, endeavour to conciliate the parties, and eſtabliſh as juſt a proportion as poſſible between the offence and the puniſhment [e].

All the Athenians are liable to ſuffer the ſame puniſhments; all may be deprived of life, of liberty, of their country, of their property, and privileges. Let us take a curſory view of theſe different articles.

The laws of Athens puniſh with death, ſacrilege [f]; profanation of the myſteries [g]; enterpriſes againſt the ſtate, and eſpecially againſt the democracy [h]; deſerters [i]; thoſe who give up to the enemy a ſtrong hold, a galley, or a detachment of troops [k]; all crimes, in ſhort, that directly attack religion government, or the life of an individual.

The ſame puniſhment is inflicted for robbery committed in the day, when exceeding the value of fifty drachmas *; or robbery by night of the ſmalleſt ſum; for theft committed in

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[d] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 460. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 192. § 3. Pet. leg. Att. p. 335.

[e] Ulpian. in Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450. Id. Memorab. lib. 1. p. 721. Diod. lib. 16. p. 427. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Andocid. de Myſt. part 1. p 1. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 33.

[h] Xenoph. ut ſupra. Andocid. de Myſt. p. 13. Plut. in Publ. t. i. p. 110.

[i] Suid. et Heſych. in Αὐτομολία. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.

[k] Lyſ. contr. Philon. p. 498.

* Upwards of 45 livres (or 1l. 17s. 6d.).

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the baths, and in the gymnasia, no matter how trifling the loss [l].

Criminals are generally deprived of life by the rope, the sword, or poison [m]; sometimes they are made to expire under the bastinado [n]; sometimes they are thrown into the sea [o], or into a pit full of sharp spikes, to hasten their death [p]; for it is considered as a species of impiety to suffer even criminals to die with hunger [q].

The citizen accused of certain crimes is detained in prison until he is tried [r], if condemned to die, until his execution [s]; the man who owes money till he has paid his debt [t]. Some crimes are expiated by an imprisonment of several years, or a few days [u]; others only by perpetual confinement [x]. In certain cases persons accused may avoid the prison by giving bail [y]; in others, the criminals confined there are loaded with chains, so that they are unable to move [z].

Banishment is a punishment the more rigorous to an Athenian, as he can no where find the same enjoyments as in his own country, and the resources of friendship cannot alleviate his misfortune. A citizen who should grant him an asylum, would be subject to the same punishment [a].

This proscription takes place under two remarkable circumstances: 1st, A man acquitted of an involuntary murder must absent himself for a whole year; nor return to Athens till he has given satisfaction to the relations of the deceased,

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 721. Demosth. in Tim. p. 791. Isocr. in Lochit. t. ii. p. 550. Aristot. Probl. sect. 29. t. ii. p. 814. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 528. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 4. cap. 8.

[m] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 364. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib 1. cap. 25.

[n] Lys. in Agorat. p. 253 et 257.

[o] Schol. Aristoph. in Equit v. 1360.

[p] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 431. Id. in Equit. v. 1359. Schol. ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 181.

[q] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 786 Schol. ib.

[r] Andoc. de Myst. part 2. p. 7 et 12.

[s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58

[t] Andocid. de Myst. part 1. p. 12. Demosth. in Apat. p. 933. Id. in Aristogit. p 837.

[u] Demosth. in. Tim. p. 789. 791. et 792.

[x] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37.

[y] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795.

[z] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789. Ulpian. ibid. p. 818.

[a] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1091.

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and purified himself by sacred ceremonies [b]. 2dly, He who, accused before the Areopagus of a premeditated murder, despairs of his cause, after a first hearing, may, before the judges proceed to give their votes, condemn himself to exile, and withdraw unmolested [c]. His property is confiscated, but his person is in safety, provided he does not appear either in the territory of the republic, or at any of the solemn festivals of Greece; for, in that case, every Athenian is allowed to drag him to justice, or put him to death. This is founded on the principle that a murderer ought not to breathe the same air, or enjoy the same advantages, which were enjoyed by the person whom he has deprived of life [d].

Confiscations are in a great measure applied to the public treasury, into which all fines are paid, after deducting a tenth part for the worship of Minerva, and a fiftieth for that of some other deities [e].

Degradation deprives a man of all or part of the rights of a citizen; a penalty strictly conformable to the general order of things; for it is but just to compel him to renounce privileges he has abused. This is the punishment most easily proportioned to the offence; for it is susceptible of gradations according to the nature and number of these privileges [f]. Sometimes it prohibits the offender from ascending the rostrum, from attending at the general assembly, or from taking his seat among the senators or judges; sometimes it interdicts him from entering the temples, and all participation in the sacred rites; in some cases he is forbidden to appear in the forum, or to travel in certain countries; in others, by depriving him of every thing, he is left with only the burden of a life destitute of enjoyment, and a liberty which he cannot exercise [g].

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b Pet. Leg. Att. p. 512.

c Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8 cap. 9. § 99.

d Demosth. in Arist. p. 729 et 730. Herald Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 300.

e Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 791. Id. adv. Theocr. p. 852. Id. adv. Arestog. p. 831. Id. adv. Neær. p. 861.

f Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10.

g Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10. Demosth. orat. 2. in Aristog. p. 832, 834, 836, et 845. Æsch. in Ctesiph. Lys in Andoc. p. 115. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662 et 665.

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This is a very heavy and highly ſalutary puniſhment in a democracy, inaſmuch as the privileges forfeited by this degradation being there deemed of more importance, and held in higher eſtimation, than in other governments, nothing is ſo mortifying to a citizen as to find himſelf reduced below his equals. An individual in this predicament is as it were a dethroned citizen, left among ſociety as an example to others.

This interdiction is not always attended with opprobrium. An Athenian who has introduced himſelf into the cavalry, without undergoing a previous examination, is puniſhed, becauſe he has infringed the laws [h]; but he is not diſhonoured, becauſe he has not offended againſt good morals. From a neceſſary conſequence, this ſpecies of ſtigma diſappears, when the cauſe which gave riſe to it ceaſes to exiſt. He who ſtands indebted to the public treaſury, forfeits the rights of citizenſhip; but he is reinſtated in thoſe rights the moment he has ſatisfied the claims of the ſtate [i]. By the ſame train of reaſoning, the republic does not bluſh to call to her aſſiſtance, in the hour of imminent danger, all the citizens who have been ſuſpended from their functions [k]. But it is a neceſſary ſtep previouſly to revoke the decree that had condemned them; and this revocation can only be affected by a tribunal compoſed of ſix thouſand judges, and muſt be ſubject to conditions impoſed by the ſenate and the people [l].

Irregularity of conduct and depravity of manners produce another kind of ignominy which the laws have it not in their power to efface; but by uniting their authority with that of the public opinion, they take from the citizen who has loſt the eſteem of others, the reſources he found in his rank in life. Thus, by excluding from public offices and employ-

h Lyſ. in Alcib. p. 277. Tayl. Lection. Lyſiac. p. 717.

i Demoſth. in Theocrin. p. 857. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog. p. 843.

k Andocid. de Myſt. p. 14. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog p. 846.

l Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 780.

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ments the man who has ill-treated his parents [m], the soldier who has cowardly abandoned his station, or his buckler [n], they publicly brand him with a mark of infamy that necessarily compels remorse.

CHAP. XX.

Manners and Civil Life of the Athenians.

At the crowing of the cock, the inhabitants of the country enter the city with their provisions, singing ancient ballads [o]. At the same hour, the shops open with no little noise, and all the Athenians are in motion [p]. Some resume the labours of their profession; others disperse themselves, in considerable numbers, among the different tribunals, to exercise the functions of judges.

Among the people, as well as in the army, it is customary to make two meals a-day [q]; but persons of a certain rank content themselves with one [r], which some eat at noon [s]; but the greater number a little before the setting of the sun [t]. In the afternoon they take a few moments sleep [u], or play with little pieces of bone, or at dice, and other games of commerce [x].

In the first of these games they make use of four small pieces of bone, having one of these four numbers; 1, 3, 4, and 6 [y], on each of their sides. From their different combinations result 35 throws, to which they have given the names of gods, princes, heroes, &c [z]. Some are losing, and others

[m] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55.
[n] Andocid. de Myst. p. 10.
[o] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 278.
[p] Id. in Avib. v. 490. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. No. 161.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 63. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 573. Demosth. in Everg. p. 1160. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[r] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 326. Anthol. lib. 2. p. 185.
[s] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 11.
[t] Id. ibid. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 648. Schol. ibid.
[u] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 75.
[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 63. Theop ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.
[y] Lucian. de Amor. t. ii. p. 415 Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7. § 100.
[z] Eust. ad. Iliad. Ψ. p. 1289. Meurs de Lud. Græc. in Ἀστραγ.

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winning throws. The moſt favourable of all is that they call Venus, which is when the four bones turn up the four different numbers [a].

In the game of dice, they likewiſe diſtinguiſh lucky and unlucky throws [b]; but frequently without attending to this diſtinction, it is only neceſſary to caſt a higher number than the adverſary [c]. The pair-royal of ſix is the moſt fortunate throw [d]. Only three dice are employed at this game. They ſhake them in a dice box, and, to prevent cheating, throw them into a hollow cylinder, through which they paſs, and roll upon the chequer board [e]*. Sometimes, inſtead of three dice, they make uſe of three of the little bones above mentioned.

The preceding games are games of pure chance; but the following entirely depends on judgment. On a table on which are traced lines or pyramidal points [f], they range on each ſide pieces, or men, of different colours [g]. The ſkill of this game conſiſts in ſuſtaining one piece by the other, in taking thoſe of the adverſary, when he leaves them unguarded; or in blocking him up, ſo as to prevent him from advancing [h]: but he is permitted to play again when he has made a wrong move [i] †.

Sometimes the latter game is played with dice, the player regulating the moves of his men or pieces by the number he throws. In this caſe it is his buſineſs to know what throws will prove fatal or advantageous to him, and to profit by the

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[a] Lucian. ibid. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 13; lib. 2. c. 21. t. iii. p. 12 et 64.

[b] Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Κυβ.

[c] Poll. lib. 9 cap. 7. § 117.

[d] Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 33. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Τρίς Ἕξ. Not. ibid

[e] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 269. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 203. Id. lib. 10. cap. 31. § 150. Harpocr in Διαστυ. et in Φιμ. Valeſ. ibid. Suid in Διαστ. Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. p. 469.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[f] Sophocl. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7 § 97.

[g] Poll. ibid. § 98.

[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 487.

[i] Id. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀναβ.

† It is preſumed that this game bore ſome reſemblance to the game of draughts, or cheſs; and the following, to that of backgammon. The reader may conſult Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Πεττ. Buleng. de Lud. Veter. Hyde. Hiſt. Nerd. Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. p. 459.

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favours of fortune, or by judgment correct her caprices [k]. This, as well as the preceding game, requires a number of combinations, and to excel at it, should be practised from early youth [l]. Some persons acquire such a degree of skill, that their names become celebrated, and that no person will venture to play against them [m].

At different times of the day, and especially in the morning, before noon, and in the evening, before supper, the company repair to the banks of the Ilissus and the environs of the city, to enjoy the extreme pureness of the air, and the delightful prospects that presents themselves on every side [n]; but the usual place of meeting is the forum, the most frequented part of the whole city [o]. As it is there that the general assembly is often held, and the palace of the senate, and the tribunal of the chief archon are situated, almost every one is attracted thither by his own private business, or the affairs of the state [p]. Many persons resort thither for amusement, and others in search of employment. At certain hours, the square cleared from all the incumbrances of the market, leaves an open field for those who wish to entertain themselves with observations on the crowd, or make a display of their own persons.

Around the square are the shops of perfumers *, goldsmiths, barbers, &c. open to every person [q], in which the interests of the state, anecdotes of private families, and the vices or ridiculous conduct of individuals, are warmly and clamorously discussed. From amidst these groups, which by a confused motion are perpetually separating and re-uniting, issue a thou-

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k Plat de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 604. Plut. in Pyrr. t. i. p. 400.

l Id ibid. lib. ii. p. 734.

m Athen. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 16.

n Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 227 et 229.

o Meurs. in Ceram. cap 16.

p Demosth. in Aristogit. p. 836.

* Instead of saying. *Let us go to the perfumers*, they said, *Let us go to the perfume*; as we say in France, *Let us go to the coffee*, and not *coffee-house*. (*Allons au caffé.*) Poll. lib. 10. cap. 2. § 19. Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1372. Spanh. et Kuster. ibid

q Aristoph. in Equit. Lys. adv. Delat. p. 413. Demosth. in Mid. p. 606. Id. in Phorm. p. 942. Theophr. charact. cap. 11. Casaub et Duport. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 1, scen. 2. v. 39.

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ſand ingenious or ſatyrical pleaſantries againſt thoſe who mix with the company in a ſlovenly habit [r], or preſume to diſplay an offenſive oſtentation [s]: for this people, paſſionately addicted to raillery, are expert at a kind of facetiouſneſs the more formidable, as their malignity is dexterouſly concealed under it [t]. Sometimes we meet with a ſelect company, and inſtructive converſation, in the different porticos diſperſed through the city [u]. Such little parties cannot but be numerous among the Athenians. Their inſatiable thirſt for news, ariſing from the natural activity of their minds, and the idleneſs of their lives, forces them to ſeek the ſociety of each other

This taſte, which is ſo predominant as to draw on them the name of Loiterers or Loungers [x], in time of war becomes a kind of madneſs. There it is that in public and in private, their converſations turn on military expeditions, and that their firſt queſtion on meeting is, What news [y]? Then are ſeen on every ſide thoſe ſwarms of news-mongers, tracing out upon the ground, or on a wall, the map of the country in which the army then is [z], loudly proclaiming its ſucceſſes, and whiſpering its defeats [a]; collecting and exaggerating rumours which either throw the city into the moſt immoderate joy, or plunge it into the very depth of deſpair [b].

The Athenians employ their hours of peace in amuſements of a more pleaſing nature. As the greater part of them cultivate their own eſtates, they mount their horſes in the morning, and, after directing the labours of their ſlaves, return in the evening to the city [c].

Their time is ſometimes filled up by hunting [d], and the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [e]. Beſides the public baths, whi-

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[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 19.
[s] Id. cap. 21.
[t] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 897.
[u] Theophr Charact. cap. 2.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1260.
[y] Demoſth. Philipp. 1. p. 49.
[z] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199; in Nic. p. 531.
[a] Theophr. Charact. cap. 8.
[b] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Id. in Garrul. t. ii. p. 509.
[c] Xenoph. Œconom. p. 831.
[d] Id. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1082.
[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.

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ther the people flock in crowds, and which serve the poor as an asylum against the inclemencies of winter [f], private persons have baths in their houses [g], and the use of them has become so indispensable, that they are introduced even on board their vessels [h]. They frequently take a bathe after their walk, and almost always previous to a repast [i]. They come out of the bath perfumed with essences; and these odours mingle with those they carefully sprinkle over their garments, which are distinguished by different names, according to the difference of their form and colours [k].

In general they are contented with throwing over a tunic that descends to the midleg [l], a mantle which almost entirely covers them. None but the country people, or persons without education, tuck up the different parts of their dress above the knee [m].

Many persons go barefooted [n]; others, whither in the city, or on a journey, nay sometimes even at processions [o], cover their heads with a large flapped hat.

In the form and disposition of the several parts of dress, the men are expected to study decency, the women to unite elegance with taste. The latter wear, 1st, a white tunic, which is fastened with buttons over the shoulders, closely bound under the bosom with a broad sash [p], and descends in waving folds down to the heels [q]: 2dly, a shorter robe, confined round the waist by a broad ribbon [r], and, like the tunic, bordered at the bottom by stripes or edgings of different colours [s]; sometimes it has sleeves covering only part of the arm: 3dly, a robe, which is sometimes worn gathered up

f Aristoph. in Plut. v. 535. Schol. ibid.

g Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116. Demosth. in Conon. p. 1110. Theophr. cap. 28.

h Spanh. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 987.

i Id. ibid.

k Poll. lib. 7. cap. 13. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, liv. 4. chap. 5.

l Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 61.

m Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Casaub. ib. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 21.

n Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 5. p. 583.

o Drawings of Nointel, preserved in the king's library at Paris.

p Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucip. Amor. lib. 1. cap. 1.

q Poll. lib. 7. cap. 16.

r Id. ibid. cap. 14. § 65.

s Id. ibid. cap. 13 § 52; cap. 14, § 6.

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like a ſkarf, and at others ſuffered to unfold itſelf over the body, the contours and proportions of which it is peculiarly well adapted to diſplay; for this they often ſubſtitute a light mantlet [t]. When they go out they wear a veil over their heads.

Flax [u], cotton [x], and, above all, wool, are the materials of which the garments of the Athenians are moſt uſually made. The tunic was formerly of linen [y]; it is now of cotton. The common people wear a cloth which has not been dyed, and which will waſh [z]. The rich uſually prefer cloths of various colours. They particularly eſteem thoſe dyed in ſcarlet, by means of little ſeeds of a reddiſh colour gathered from a certain ſhrub [a]; but they ſet a ſtill greater value on purple [b], and eſpecially on the cloths of a very deep red, with a mixture of the violet [c].

Very light dreſſes are made for ſummer [d]. In winter ſome wear large robes imported from Sardes, the cloth of which, manufactured at Ecbatana in Media, is covered with thick flocks of wool, intended to defend the wearer from the cold [e].

We likewiſe ſee ſtuffs embroidered with gold [f]; and others worked with the moſt beautiful flowers in their natural colours [g]; but theſe are employed only in the veſtments with which they cover the ſtatues of the gods [h], or for the dreſs of the actors at the theatre [i]. To prevent modeſt women from wearing them, the laws direct that they ſhall be worn by females of looſe reputation [k].

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[t] Winkelm. Hiſt. de l'Art, liv. 4. chap. 5. p. 185.
[u] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 16.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 5. p. 384; lib. 7. p. 578. Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 120.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[z] Ferrar. de Re Veſt. lib. 4. cap. 13.
[a] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 105.
[b] Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 198.
[c] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 100.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 716.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1132.
[f] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 116.
[g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 557.
[h] Ariſtot. Æcon. t. i. p. 511. Ælian. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[i] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 116.
[k] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 477.

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The Atheniah women paint their eye-brows black, and apply to their faces a layer of ceruſe or white lead, with deep tints of rouge [l]. They ſprinkle over their hair, which is crowned with flowers [m], a yellow coloured powder [n]. In proportion as they wiſh to increaſe or diminiſh their ſtature, they wear higher or lower heels [o].

Shut up in their apartments, they are deprived of the pleaſure of participating in, and adding to, the pleaſure of the companies aſſembled by their huſbands. The law permit them to go out in the day only on certain occaſions, and never in the night-time but in a carriage, and with a flambeau to light them [p]; but this law, defective, becauſe it is impoſſible to extend its operation to all conditions, leaves the women of the lower claſſes in a ſtate of perfect liberty [q], and is become for thoſe of a higher claſs only a ſimple rule of decorum, a rule which urgency of buſineſs, or the ſlightest pretexts, afford them an opportunity of violating every day [r]. There are, however, many occaſions on which they may leave their retirement. Private ceremonies, to which no men have access, often aſſemble them among themſelves [s]; and in public feſtivals they are preſent at the ſpectacles as well as the ceremonies of the temple. But in general they are not to appear unleſs attended by eunuchs [t], or female ſlaves who belong to them, or are occaſionally hired in order to enlarge their retinue [u]. If their dreſs or carriage be not decent, magiſtrates, appointed to watch over them, impoſe on them a heavy penalty, and inſcribe their ſentence on a tablet, which they ſuſpend on one of the plane trees of the public walk [x].

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l Xenoph. Memor. p. 847. Lyſ. de Cæde Eratoſth. p. 8. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 557. Alex. ibid. p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐψιμ.

m Simon. ap. Stob. ſerm. 71. p. 436.

n Schol Theocr. in Idyll. 2. v. 88. Heſych. in Θέψ. Salm. in Plin p. 1163

o Lyſ. in Simon. p. 72. Xenoph. ibid. Alex. ap. Athen. ib.

p Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

q Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 383.

r Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 157 et 160.

s Ariſtoph. Lyſiſt. v. 1. Schol. ibid.

t Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1. ſcen. 2. v. 87

u Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Caſaub. ibid.

x Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 112. Not. Jung. ibid.

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But they are ſometimes indemnified for the reſtraint in which they live, by teſtimonials of a different nature. I one day met the young Leucippe, whoſe budding and hitherto unknown charms ſhone through a veil, lifted up at intervals by the wind. She was returning from the temple of Ceres, with her mother and ſome ſlaves. The young Athenians, who eagerly followed her ſteps, could only obtain a momentary glimpſe of her; yet the next day I read on the door of her houſe, at the corner of the ſtreets, on the bark of trees, and in the moſt public places, theſe words written by different hands: "Leucippe is beautiful; nothing is ſo beautiful as Leucippe [y]."

The Athenians were formerly ſo jealous, that they would not permit their women to ſhow themſelves at the window [z]. They have ſince diſcovered that this exceſſive ſeverity only ſerved to haſten the evil they were ſo anxious to prevent [a]. Still, however, they are not permitted to be viſited by men in the abſence of their huſbands [b]; and, ſhould a huſband ſurpriſe his rival in the act of diſhonouring him, he may put him to death [c], or oblige him by torments to ranſom his life [d]: but if the wife has only yielded to force, he can demand no more than a pecuniary fine at the diſcretion of the judges. It has been thought, with reaſon, that violence, on ſuch occaſions, is leſs to be dreaded than ſeduction [e].

The firſt publication of an infidelity of this nature is not the only puniſhment reſerved for the guilty and convicted wife. She is inſtantly repudiated; the laws exclude her for ever from all religious ceremonies [f]; and ſhould ſhe venture to appear in a ſtudied dreſs, every one has a right to ſtrip

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[y] Euripid. ap. Euſtath. in lib. ζ. Iliad. t. ii. p. 632. Callim. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 144. Kuſter. ibid. Suid. in Καλ.

[z] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 792 et 804.

[a] Menand. ap. Stob. ſerm. 72. p. 440.

[b] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1057 et 1060.

[c] Lyſ. pro Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 15.

[d] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 168. Schol. ib.

[e] Lyſ. pro Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 18.

[f] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 875.

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her of her ornaments, to tear her clothes, and load her with opprobrious expreſſions [g].

A huſband, obliged to repudiate his wife, muſt firſt addreſs himſelf to a tribunal in which one of the chief magiſtrates preſides [h]. The ſame tribunal receives the complaints of wives who ſeek to be divorced from their huſbands. There was it that, after long conflicts between jealouſy and love, the wife of Alcibiades, the virtuous and too ſenſible Hipparete, appeared. While, with a trembling hand, ſhe was preſenting the memorial, ſetting forth her grievances, Alcibiades ſuddenly arrived, and, taking her under his arm, without the leaſt reſiſtance on her part, croſſed the forum with her, amidſt the general applauſes of the people, and led her back quietly to his houſe [i]. The irregularities of this Athenian were ſo public, that this action of Hipparete neither injured the reputation of her huſband, nor her own. But, in general, women of a certain condition dare not apply for a divorce; and, whether it be from weakneſs or from pride, the greater part of them rather chooſe to ſubmit to unworthy treatment in private, than free themſelves by an open rupture that muſt expoſe their huſbands or themſelves to ſhame [k]. It is unneceſſary to add, that a divorce leaves the parties at liberty to contract a new marriage.

The rigour of the laws, however, cannot extinguiſh in the heart, the natural deſire of pleaſing, which the precautions of jealouſy ſerve only to enflame. The Athenian women, removed from all public affairs by the conſtitution of the government, and ſtrongly incited to voluptuouſneſs by the influence of the climate, often know no ambition but that of being beloved, no care but that of dreſs, and no virtue but the apprehenſion of a ſtain upon their honour. As they are generally extremely careful to conceal themſelves

g Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 289.
h Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 457 et 459.
i Andoc. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.
k Euripid. in Med. v. 236.

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beneath the veil of myſtery, few of them have become famous for their gallantries.

This celebrity is reſerved for the courteſans. The laws protect theſe women as a corrective poſſibly of more odious vices [l]; and the public manners are not ſufficiently alarmed at the outrages they receive from them; nay, the abuſe is carried to ſuch a height, as openly to wound both reaſon and decorum. A married woman ſeems only deſtined to ſuperintend domeſtic affairs, and to perpetuate the name of a family, by giving children to the republic [m]. Young men at their firſt entrance into the world, men of a more advanced period of life, magiſtrates, philoſophers, almoſt all perſons poſſeſſed of a tolerable income, reſerve their complaiſance for their kept miſtreſſes, with whom they paſs part of the day, and who ſometimes bring them children, whom they adopt, and incorporate with their legitimate offspring [n].

Some of theſe women, brought up in the art of ſeduction by females, who add the force of example to their inſtructions [o], vie with each other in endeavours to ſurpaſs their models. The charms of beauty and of youth, the graces of their perſon, elegance of dreſs, muſic, dancing, and every pleaſing and polite accompliſhment, a cultivated mind, happy witticiſms, and the artifice of language and of ſentiment [p], all are employed by them to captivate and retain their admirers; and ſuch faſcination is there in theſe allurements, that thoſe they have enſnared frequently diſſipate on theſe ſyrens their fortune, and ſacrifice their honour, until, abandoned for ſome freſh victim, they are left to drag out the remainder of their lives in ignominy and regret.

Notwithſtanding the power theſe courteſans poſſeſs over their votaries, they muſt not ſhow themſelves in the ſtreets

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[l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 881.
[n] Athen. lib. 13. p. 576 et 577. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 141.
[o] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 568. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 863.
[p] Athen. lib. 13. p. 577, 583, &c.

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with rich trinkets or jewels [q]; nor dare men in office appear with them in public [r].

Besides the danger which young persons are exposed to from these women, they frequently have but too much reason to regret the time they mispend in certain destructive houses, the haunts of gamesters, and where great wagers are often made at cock-fights [s]. They have still further to dread even the consequences of that institution which formed part of their education, and the spirit of which they misapply. Scarcely have they left the gymnasium, before, animated with the desire of distinguishing themselves in the chariot and and horse races that are exhibited at Athens, and in the other Grecian cities, they abandon themselves, without reserve, to all these exercises. They set up rich equipages, and maintain an immoderate number of dogs and horses [t]; expences which, added to the ostentation of their dress, soon totally dissipate the inheritance they have received from their ancestors [u].

In general, every person walks on foot at Athens, whether in the city or the environs. The rich sometimes make use of chariots and litters, the perpetual objects of the censure and envy of their fellow-citizens [x]; sometimes they are followed by a servant, carrying a folding chair, that they may sit down in the forum [y], and as often as they are fatigued with walking [z]. The men almost always appear with a cane [a]; the women very often with an umbrella. At night, they are lighted by a slave, who carries a flambeau, ornamented with different colours [b].

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[q] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 4. scen. 1. v. 13. Meurs. Them. Att lib. 1. cap 6.

[r] Terent. ibid. act. 3. scen. 2. v. 42.

[s] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 335. Æschin. in Tim. p. 268.

[t] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. scen. 1. v. 28.

[u] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 13.

[x] Dem. in Mid. p. 628. Id. in Phænip. p. 1025. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 177.

[y] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1381. Hesy. in Ὀκλάδ.

[z] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 310. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 74.

[a] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1345. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 7. § 174.

[b] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 614. Id. in Lysistr. v. 1219. Schol. in Vesp. v. 1364.

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For a few of the first days after my arrival, I amused myself with examining the bills stuck up over the doors of the houses. On some of them I read, A HOUSE TO SELL[c]; A HOUSE TO LET. On others, THIS IS THE HOUSE OF SUCH A ONE, LET NOTHING EVIL ENTER[d]. I did not gratify this little curiosity for nothing; for, in the principal streets, the passenger is continually pushed, squeezed, and crowded by a multitude of people on foot and on horseback, by carters[e], water-carriers[f], criers of edicts[g], beggars[h], and labourers. One day, whilst I was with Diogenes, looking at some little dogs trained to perform a number of tricks[i], one of these labourers passing along, carrying a great beam, gave him a violent blow with it, and then cried out: "Take care."—"What," said Diogenes, "are you going to strike me a second time[k]?"

Persons not attended at night by servants are in danger of being robbed[l], notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates, who are obliged to take their nightly rounds[m]. The city maintains a guard of Scythians[n], to be in readiness to assist the magistrates, to carry the judgments of the courts of justice into execution, and to preserve good order in the general assemblies, and at public ceremonies[o]. They pronounce the Greek in so barbarous a manner, as to be sometimes ridiculed on the stage[p], and are so fond of wine, as to render the expression, "to drink like a Scythian[q]," proverbial for drinking to excess.

The people are naturally abstemious. Their chief food consists of salt meat and vegetables. Such as are unable to

c Laert. in Diog lib. 6. § 47.
d Id. ibid. § 39. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 843.
e Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 192.
f Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 17.
g Aristoph. in Av. v. 1038.
h Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 353 et 354.
i Xenoph. de Admin. Domest. p. 855.
k Laert. lib. 6. § 41.
l Aristoph. in Ecclesf. v. 664.
m Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 650.
n Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Τοξόσ. Meurs. Ceram. Gem. cap. 16. Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 132.
o Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 434.
p Id. in Thesmoph. v. 1016 Schol. ibid. Demetr. de Elocut. § 96.
q Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 84. Aristot. Problem. sect. 3. t. ii. p. 695. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 27.

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maintain themselves, either in consequence of wounds they have received in war, or because their misfortunes have rendered them incapable of working, are paid daily from the public treasury one or two oboli [r], granted them by the assembly of the nation. The list of persons who are the objects of this benefaction, is from time to time examined in the senate, and the names of those who are no longer entitled to receive it, struck off [s]. The necessities of the poor are relieved likewise by other means. Every new moon, the rich expose provisions in certain public places, in honour of the goddess Hecate, which are left to the disposal of the populace [t].

I had taken an exact account of the price of the different articles of provision; but this I have lost. I can only recollect that the usual price of corn [u] was five drachmas the medimnus *. The best ox [x] was worth about eighty drachmas †; a sheep, the fifth part of the value of an ox [y], or about sixteen drachmas ‡; a lamb, ten drachmas § [z].

It will naturally be imagined, that these prices increase in times of dearth. The medimnus of wheat has been known to rise from five drachmas, its ordinary value, to sixteen drachmas; and that of barley as high as eighteen [a]. Independent of these transient causes, it was observed, during my stay at Athens, that for about the last seventy years, the price of every article had been continually rising, and that wheat, in particular, was then dearer by two fifths than during the Peloponnesian war [b].

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[r] Lys. adv Delat. p. 414 et 416. Aristid. in Panathen. t. i. p. 331. Hesych. et Harpocr. in 'Αδών.

[s] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 276.

[t] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 594. Schol. ibid. Demosth. in Conon p. 1114.

[u] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 946.

* 4 livres 10 sols (or three shillings and ninepence). Reckoning the drachma at 18 sols (or ninepence), and the medimnus at something above 4 bushels (Goguet, Orig. des Lois, t. iii. p. 260), our septier (a French measure of 12 bushels) of corn would have been worth about 13 of our livres (or 10 shillings and tenpence English).

[x] Marmor. Sandwic. p. 35.

† 72 livres (or 3l. Sterling.)

[y] Demetr. Phaler. ap. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

‡ About 14 livres 8 sols (or 12s.)

§ 9 livres (or 7s. and 6d. See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 146; et lib. 8. p. 364.

[a] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 946 Id. adv. Phænip. p 1025.

[b] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 380 et 543.

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We do not here meet with ſuch ſplendid fortunes as in Perſia; and when I ſpeak of the opulence and oſtentation of the Athenians, it is only relatively to the other ſtates of Greece. A ſmall number of families, however, have enriched themſelves by commerce; and ſome by ſilver mines they poſſeſs at Laurium. The other citizens eſteem themſelves maſters of a decent fortune, when they have eſtates to the value of fifteen or twenty talents *, and are able to give their daughters a marriage portion of a hundred minæ [c] †.

Though the Athenians have the intolerable fault of lending an ear to calumny, without a proper inquiry into facts [d], they are malignant only from frivolouſneſs; and it is a common remark, that, when good, they are better than the other Greeks, becauſe their goodneſs is not a virtue of education [e].

The common people are more rude and noiſy here than perhaps any where elſe; but among the firſt claſs of citizens we ſee that decorum that impreſſes us with the idea that a man has a proper eſteem for himſelf, and that politeneſs which has the appearance of eſteem for others, univerſally prevail. Good company requires a propriety of language and behaviour [f]. It requires that thoſe marks of reſpect, by which men are prepoſſeſſed in favour of each other, ſhould be properly adapted to times and perſons [g]; and conſiders an affected or precipitate carriage, as a mark of vanity or levity [h]; and a blunt, ſententious, or too lofty tone, as a proof of bad education or ruſticity [i]. All peeviſh whims [k], overſtrained

* The talent was worth 5400 livres (or 225l. Sterling).

[c] Demoſth. in Steph. 1. p. 978.

† 9000 livres (or 375 l. Sterling). See note at the end of the volume.

[d] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 799.

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t ii. p. 642.

[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 448. Theophr. Charact. c. 4.

[g] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 325.

[h] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995.

[i] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995. Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 572. Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.

[k] Theophr. Charact. cap. 13. 16. et 17.

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officiousness, disdainful airs, and studied singularities, are likewise condemned by the laws of good company.

The same laws require a certain facility of manners, equally removed from that crouching complaisance that approves every thing, and that ill-humoured austerity which nothing can please [l]. But what distinguishes good company most, is a delicate and light pleasantry [m], which unites decency with freedom; which we must pardon in others, and secure pardon for in ourselves; which few people know how to employ, and fewer still are able to understand. It consists——No, I will say no more. Those who know what it is will understand me, and it would be impossible to explain myself to others. It is characterized at present by the name of address and dexterity, because wit should never sparkle but in favour of others, and because, in its most brilliant strokes, its object should always be to please, and not to offend [n]. Yet is it often confounded with satire, coarse humour, or buffoonery [o]; for each society has its particular tone. That of good company has been almost entirely formed in our own times; as a proof of which, we need only compare the ancient dramatic pieces with the modern. Scarcely half a century has elapsed since comedies were filled with indelicate expressions, and disgusting obscenities, which at this day would not be endured for a moment [p].

In Athens there are several societies, the members of which enter into a mutual engagement to assist each other. If a judicial prosecution be commenced against any one of them, or if he be attacked by his creditors, he has instant recourse to the succour of his associates. In the first case, they accompany him to his trial, and serve, should it be necessary, as advocates or witnesses [q]; in the second, they advance the sum

l Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Id. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 552.

m. Id. Magn. Moral lib. 1. cap 31. t. ii. p. 164. Id. Rhet. . . 552

n Arist. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 56

o Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 336.

p Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap 14. t ii. p. 56.

q Lys. Delat. in Obtrect. p. 159.

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necessary to extricate him from his difficulties, without requiring any interest for it, and prescribe no other time for the repayment of the loan, than the re-establishment of his fortune or his credit [r]. If he afterwards fails in his engagements, when able to fulfil them, he is not indeed liable to a prosecution, but his honour is lost [s]. They sometimes meet, and cement their friendly union at entertainments, in which good humour and innocent freedom shine conspicuous [t]. These associations, originally founded on noble and generous motives, are at present maintained only from unjust and interested views. The rich man, at their meetings, mixes in company with the poor, to induce them to perjure themselves in his favour [u]; and the poor man seeks the society of the rich, in order to acquire some claim to their protection.

Among the various societies of Athens, there is one whose only object is to observe and collect every species of ridiculous absurdity, and to divert itself with pleasantries and bons-mots. The members of it, to the number of sixty, are all men of extraordinary vivacity and brilliant wit: their meetings are held from time to time in the temple of Hercules, where they pronounce their humorous decrees, in presence of a crowd of spectators, drawn thither by the singularity of the scene; nor have the misfortunes of the state ever induced them to intermit their meetings [x].

Two extremes of folly, among others, multiply the decrees of this tribunal. Some persons here endeavour to surpass even Attic elegance, whilst others seem to strive to outdo even Spartan simplicity. The former take especial care to have a smooth chin, frequently to change their dress, to display the polished enamel of their teeth, and to load themselves with perfumes [y]. They wear flowers at their ears [z],

[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 15 et 17. Causab. in Theophr. cap. 15. Pet. in Leg Att. p. 429.

[s] Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. lib 6. cap. 3 p. 414.

[t] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 468. Duport. in Theophr. cap. 10. p. 351.

[u] Demosth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐρανν.

[x] Athen. lib. 14. p. 614.

[y] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5.

[z] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 553.

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carry twisted canes in their hands [a], and wear *Alcibiades's shoes*, a kind of shoes, the first idea of which was given by Alcibiades, and which are still in fashion among young people attentive to their dress [b]. The latter affect the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and are frequently charged with the *Laconomania* [c]. Their hair hangs in disorder over their shoulders; they distinguish themselves by a coarse cloak, plain sandals, a long beard, a huge staff, a solemn gait [d], and, if I may venture so to speak, by all the insignia of modesty. The singularities of the first, calculated only to attract attention, are less offensive than those of the second class, who make a direct attack on our esteem. I have seen this pretended simplicity [e] treated as insolence by men of sense, and they were in the right: every exclusive pretension is an usurpation; for such pretensions evidently encroach upon the claims of others.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Religion, of the Priests and sacred Ministers, and of the principal Offences against Religion.

I HERE only mean to speak of the established religion. I shall, in another place, give the opinions of philosophers on the subject of the Deity.

The public worship is founded on this law: "Honour in public and in private the gods and heroes of the country. Let every one annually offer up, according to its abilities, and the customary rites, the first fruits of his harvests [f]."

From the earliest times the objects of religious worship have multiplied among the Athenians. They received the

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[a] Theophr. ibid.
[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 534.
[c] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1281. Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Demosth. adv. Conon. p. 1113.
[d] Demosth. ibid. Plut. in Phoc p. 746.
[e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 56.
[f] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 22. p. 380.

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twelve principal divinities [g] from the Egyptians [h], and others from the Libyans and different nations [i]. In proceſs of time, a law was enacted, prohibiting, under pain of death, the introduction of any foreign worſhip, without a decree of the Areopagus, moved for by the public orators [k]. Within the laſt century, this tribunal becoming leſs ſcrupulous, the gods of Thrace, of Phrygia, and ſome other barbarous people, have made an irruption into Attica [l], and triumphantly maintained their ground, in deſpite of the pleaſantries with which the theatre rings againſt theſe ſtrange deities, and the nocturnal ceremonies celebrated in their honour [m].

It was a ſublime inſtitution of ancient times, to conſecrate by monuments and feſtivals the memory of kings and individuals who had rendered eſſential ſervices to mankind. Such is the origin of the profound veneration paid to heroes. In the number of theſe, the Athenians place Theſeus, the firſt author of their liberty; Erechtheus, one of their ancient kings [n]; thoſe who merited to give their name to the ten tribes [o]; and others again, among whom we muſt diſtinguiſh Hercules, who is indiſcriminately ranked in the claſs of gods and in that of heroes [p].

The worſhip of the latter differs eſſentially from that of the gods, as well in the object as in the ceremonies. The Greeks proſtrate themſelves before the divinity, to acknowledge their dependence, to implore his protection, or thank him for his bounties. They conſecrate temples, altars, and groves, and celebrate feſtivals and games, in honour of the heroes [q], to perpetuate their glory, and recal the memory of their illuſ-

[g] Pind. Olymp. 10. v. 59. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 95. Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

[h] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[i] Id. lib. 2. cap. 50; et lib. 4. cap. 88.

[k] Joſeph. in Appion. lib 2. p. 491 et 493. Harpocrat. in Ἐπιθέτ.

[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. i. p. 327 et 354. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 516 Strab. lib. 10. p. 471. Heſych. in Θεοὶ ξενικ.

[m] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 9. Dyſiſt. v. 389, &c. Cicer de Leg. lib 2. cap. 15. t. iii. p. 149.

[n] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 12.

[o] Pauſan. lib 1. cap. 5. p. 13

[p] Herodot lib. 2. cap 44 Pauſan. lib. 1 cap. 15. p. 37; lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 133.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 11.

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trious deeds. Incenſe is burnt on their altars, at the ſame time that libations are poured over their tombs, to procure repoſe to their manes. The ſacrifices with which they are honoured by their votaries, therefore, are, properly ſpeaking, addreſſed only to the infernal gods.

Secret doctrines are taught in the myſteries of Eleuſis, and in thoſe of Bacchus, and other divinities. But the reigning religion is totally external. It holds out no body of doctrine, no public inſtruction, no rigorous injunction to participate, on ſtated days, in the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The only faith required is to ſeem perſuaded that the gods exiſt, and reward virtue, either in this life or in that to come: the only practice, to perform at intervals ſome religious acts, ſuch as appearing in the temple at the ſolemn feſtivals, and ſacrificing on the public altars [r].

The religion of the common people entirely conſiſts in prayers, ſacrifices, and purifications.

Individuals addreſs their prayers to the gods at the begining of any undertaking [s]. Theſe they offer up in the morning, the evening, and at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun and moon [t]. Sometimes they repair to the temple, with downcaſt eyes and a ſerious deportment [u], and preſent themſelves as ſuppliants. There is not a mark of reſpect, of fear or flattery, that courtiers ſhow to ſovereigns on approaching the throne, but are teſtified by men toward the gods on coming near their altars. They kiſs the ground [x]; they pray ſtanding [y], on their knees [z], proſtrate [a], and holding branches in their hands [b], which they elevate towards heaven, or ſtretch out towards the ſtatue of the god, after applying it to their mouths [c]. If the worſhip be directed to the infernal deities,

[r] Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. p. 703.
[s] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27.
[t] Id. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 887.
[u] Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 138.
[x] Potter. Archæolog. lib. 2. cap 5.
[y] Philoſtr. in Apollon. Vit. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 233.
[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[a] Laert. in Diogen. lib. 6. § 37.
[b] Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 3. Schol. ibid.
[c] Lucian. in encom. Demoſth. § 49. t. iii. p. 526.

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they fail not, in order to attract their attention, to ſtrike the earth with their feet or hands [d].

Some pronounce their prayers in a low voice. Pythagoras wiſhed them to be ſaid aloud, that nothing might be aſked which could excite a bluſh [e]. And in fact, what rule can be more excellent than that we ſhould hold converſe with the gods as if in preſence of men, and with men, as if in the preſence of the gods?

At public ſolemnities, the Athenians prefer in common their vows for the proſperity of the ſtate, and of their allies [f]; ſometimes for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth, and the return of rain, or of fine weather; ſometimes to be delivered from peſtilence and famine [g].

The religious ceremonies of the Athenians frequently afford a beautiful and moſt awful ſpectacle. The ſpace before the temple, and the porticos that ſurround it, are full of people. The prieſts advance under the veſtibule near the altar. After the officiating prieſt has ſaid, in a ſonorous voice, "Let us make libations, and let us pray [h]," one of the ſubordinate miniſters, in order to obtain from the congregation a declaration of their devout diſpoſitions, demands: "Who are they who compoſe this aſſembly?" "Honeſt people," reply they, all in concert. "Be ſilent then," adds he. Prayers adapted to the occaſion are then recited, and preſently the ſacred hymns are chanted by choruſes of youths. Their voices are ſo harmonious, and ſo well ſeconded by the art of the poet, attentive to ſelect moving ſubjects, as to draw tears from the greater part of the audience [i]. But the religious muſic is in general lively, and more proper to inſpire joy than ſorrow. Such is the impreſſion made on us at the feſtivals of Bacchus, when

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[d] Homer. Iliad. 9. v. 564. Schol. ibid. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 297.

[e] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 641.

[f] Theopomp. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 881. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 44.

[g] Eurip. in Supplic. v. 28. Procl. in Tim. lib. 2. p. 65. Thom. Gale. not. in Jamblic. Myſter. p. 283.

[h] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 434 et 965.

[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800.

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after one of the ministers has said aloud, "Invoke the god;" every person immediately joins in a hymn beginning with these words: "O son of Semele[k]! O Bacchus, dispenser of riches!"

Individuals weary heaven by ridiculous prayers, persecuting the gods to grant them every thing that may contribute to their ambition or their pleasures. These prayers are considered as blasphemy by some philosophers[l], who, persuaded that men are not capable of discerning what is really for their advantage, would wish them to place their sole reliance on the bounty of the gods, or, at least, never to address them but in that kind of formularly handed down to us in the writings of an ancient poet: "O! thou who art the king of heaven, grant us what is useful to us, whether we ask it, or whether we ask it not! Refuse us what would be hurtful to us, even should we ask it[m]!"

Formerly sacrifices to the gods were confined to the fruits of the earth[n], and we still see in Greece several altars on which it is forbidden to immolate any victims[o]. Bloody sacrifices were with difficulty introduced. Man felt a natural horror at plunging the steel into the breast of an animal destined to the plough, and become the companion of his labours[p]: it was prohibited under pain of death[q] by an express law; and universal practice induced him to abstain from the flesh of animals[r]. The respect long entertained for ancient traditions, is evinced by a ceremony repeated every year.

At a festival consecrated to Jupiter, offerings are placed on an altar, near to which several oxen are made to pass, and the ox that touches these offerings is to be the destined victim.

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k Schol. Aristoph in Ran. v. 482.
l Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 149.
m Id. ibid. p 143.
n Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 6. &c.
o Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62. Id. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600; cap. 42. p. 688.
p Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. 5. cap. 14.
q Var. de Re Rustic lib. 2. cap. 5.
r Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.

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Water is then brought in vases by young damsels; and the ministers of the god bear the instrument of sacrifice. Scarcely has the slaughterer struck the blow before he drops the axe and takes to flight. Mean while his companions taste of the victim, sow up the hide, stuff it with hay, fasten this shapeless figure to a plough, and then go to justify themselves before judges, to whose tribunal they are summoned. The girls who have furnished the water to sharpen the instruments, throw the blame on those who have actually whetted them; the latter, on the persons who have slaughtered the victim; and these again, on the instruments, which are condemned as the perpetrators of the murder, and cast into the sea [s].

This mysterious ceremony is of the highest antiquity, and perpetuates the memory of an event that occurred in the time of Erechtheus. A husband man having placed his offering on the altar, killed an ox which had devoured part of it. He fled, and a criminal prosecution was instituted against the axe [t].

When the fruits of the earth were the only food of men, care was taken to reserve a certain portion for the gods. The same practice was continued when they began to feed upon the flesh of animals; and hence possibly the origin of sanguinary sacrifices, which, in fact, are only repasts offered to the gods, and of which those who are present are invited to partake.

An acquaintance with a multitude of practices and ceremonies constitutes all the science of the priests. Sometimes water is to be poured on the altar or the head of the victims; sometimes honey or oil [u]. But in general they are sprinkled with wine; and then the wood of the fig-tree, the myrtle, or the vine, are burnt upon the altar [x]. Nor is less attention necessary in the choice of the victim, which must be without

[s] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57. Ælian. Var. Hist lib. 8. cap. 3. Porphyr. de Abstin lib. 2. § 29. p. 154.

[t] Pausan. ibid. cap. 28. p. 70.

[u] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 20 p. 138.

[x] Suid. in Νηφαλ.

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a blemish, and have no defect or disorder [y]. All animals likewise are not equally proper for sacrifice. At first, none were offered up but such as served for food, as the ox, the sheep, the goat, the hog, &c. [z]. Afterward horses were sacrificed to the sun, stags to Diana, and dogs to Hecate. Each country, each temple, has its particular usages. The aversion and predilection of the gods are equally fatal to the animals consecrated to their worship.

But why should a cake, made with barley-meal and salt [a], be placed on the head of the victim? Why should the hair be plucked from its forehead, and thrown into the fire [b]? Why should the thighs be burned with cloven wood [c]?

When I pressed the ministers of the temples to explain to me these rites, they gave me the same answer as a priest of Thebes, of whom I had inquired why the Bœotians offered eels to the gods. "We observe," said he, "the customs of our forefathers, without thinking ourselves obliged to give a reason for them to every stranger [d]."

The victim is shared between the gods, the priests, and those who have presented it. The portion of the deities is consumed by fire; that of the priests constitutes part of their revenue, and the third serves as a pretext to the persons who receive it, to give an entertainment to their friends [e]. Some there are who, wishing to make a parade of their opulence, strive to distinguish themselves by pompous sacrifices. I have seen individuals who, after immolating an ox, decorated the fore part of its head with flowers and ribbons, and had it suspended at their doors [f]. As the sacrifice of the ox is in the highest estimation, little cakes in the shape of that animal are

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[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 66. Schol. ibid. Aristot. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 5. p. 674. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437.

[z] Suid in Θῦσαι. Homer. Iliad. et Odyss. passim.

[a] Serv. ad. Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2. v. 133.

[b] Homer Odyss lib. 3. v. 446. Eurip. in Electr. v. 810.

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 462.

[d] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 13. 297.

[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 745.

[f] Theophr. Charact. cap. 21.

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made for the poor; and the priests are obliged to content themselves with this offering [g].

So imperious is the sway with which superstition rules the mind, that it renders even the mildest people on earth ferocious. Human sacrifices were formerly not unfrequent among the Greeks [h]. They were common in almost every nation, and in some the practice is continued to this day [i]; but it is impossible that it should long subsist, for absurd and useless cruelties must sooner or later yield to nature and to reason. The blind confidence which man places in the external acts of religion, has established a more lasting empire. The unjust, nay, the worst of villains, dare to flatter themselves with the hopes of corrupting the gods by presents, and of deceiving them by the outward show of piety [k]. In vain do philosophers declaim against so dangerous an error, which will ever be cherished by the bulk of mankind, because it will always be easier to furnish victims than to be virtuous.

The Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon, that the gods had declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, who offered to them only a small number of victims, and those meagre and mutilated. The oracle replied, that not all the sacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modest prayer in which the Lacedæmonians are contented with asking the only real blessings of the gods [l]. This oracle of Jupiter reminds me of another which reflects no less honour on that of Apollo. A rich Thessalian being at Delphi, offered up, with all the parade of ostentation, an hundred oxen with gilded horns. At the same instant, a poor citizen of Hermione drawing a handful of flour from his wallet, threw it into the flame burning on the altar. The Pythia

g Suid. in Βῶν Ἑβδ.

h Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 54. p. 197, &c.

i Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p 782.

k Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 885, 905 et 906.

l Plat. Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 148.

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declared that this man's worſhip was more acceptable to the gods than that of the Theſſalian [m].

As water purifies the body, it was imagined from analogy capable alſo of purifying the ſoul; and this effect it was ſuppoſed to operate in two ways, either by freeing it from its pollutions, or by diſpoſing it to contract none. Hence two ſorts of luſtration, the one expiatory, the other preparatory. By the former, the clemency of the gods is implored; and by the latter, their aſſiſtance.

Care is taken to purify children immediately after their birth [n]; as alſo thoſe who enter the temples [o]; ſuch as have committed homicide, even though involuntary [p]; perſons afflicted with certain diſorders, conſidered as ſigns of the anger of heaven, ſuch as the plague [q], phrenzy [r], &c.; and all, in ſhort, who wiſh to render themſelves acceptable to the gods.

This ceremony has inſenſibly been applied to temples, altars, and all places ſuppoſed to be honoured by the preſence of the Deity; to cities, ſtreets, houſes, fields; to every place either profaned by crimes, or which it is wiſhed ſhould be particularly favoured by heaven [s].

Every year the city of Athens is purified, on the 6th of the month Thargelion [t]. As often as the anger of heaven is manifeſted againſt it by peſtilence or famine, a ceremony is had recourſe to, which is ſuppoſed to divert the calamity on a man and woman of the lower claſſes of the people, maintained by the ſtate, to become, when needful, expiatory victims, each in the name of their reſpective ſexes. Theſe are led in proceſſion through the ſtreets, to the ſound of inſtruments; and, after receiving a few ſtripes, are driven out of

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[m] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 15. p. 126.
[n] Suid. et Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ.
[o] Euripid. in Ion. v. 95.
[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736.
[q] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110.
[r] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 118. Schol. ibid.
[s] Lomey. de Luſtr.
[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 44.

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the city. Formerly they were committed to the flames, and their ashes scattered in the wind [u].

Though sea water be the best suited to purifications [x], what is called lustral water is generally used. This is common water, in which a burning firebrand, taken from the altar at the sacrifice of a victim, has been dipped [y]. The vessels that are in the vestibules of the temples, in the places where the general assembly is held, and round the coffins in which dead bodies are exposed to the sight of passengers, are filled with this water [z].

As metals are purified by fire; as salt and nitre wash away filth, and preserve bodies, and smoke and agreeable odours are a security against the corruption of unwholesome air, it has gradually been conceived that these and other expedients might be employed in the different lustrations. Hence it is, that a secret virtue is ascribed to the incense burnt in temples [a], and to the flowers used to crown those who sacrifice. Hence likewise is it that a house is supposed to recover its purity by the smoke of sulphur, and by the sprinkling of a water impregnated with a few grains of salt [b]. On certain occasions, it is deemed sufficient to turn round a fire [c], or to see a little dog, or other animal, pass round their persons [d]. In the lustration of cities, the victims intended for sacrifice are led along the walls [e].

The rites differ, according to the greater or less importance of the object, and the different degrees of superstition. Some hold it essential to plunge into a river; others, that it is only necessary seven times to immerse the head: but in general they are contented with dipping their hands in lustral water,

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[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1133. Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran. v. 745. Schol. ibid. Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1590. Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Thargel.

[x] Eurip. Iph. in Taur. v. 1193. Eustath. in Iliad. lib 1. p. 108.

[y] Eurip. Herc. Fur. v. 928. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 18. p. 409.

[z] Casaub. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 16. p 126.

[a] Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2. scen. 2. v. 107.

[b] Theocr. idyl. 24. v. 94.

[c] Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ.

[d] Lomey. de Lustr. cap. 23.

[e] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 626.

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or with having it ſprinkled over them by a prieſt, who is always in waiting for that purpoſe at the gate of the temple [f].

Each individual may offer ſacrifices on an altar placed at the door of his houſe, or in a private chapel [g]. There have I often ſeen a virtuous father, ſurrounded by his children, joining in the worſhip of the ſame god, and forming vows dictated by affection, and worthy of the attention of the divinity. The functions of this kind of prieſthood being limited to a ſingle family, it became neceſſary to appoint miniſters for public worſhip.

In no city are there ſo many prieſts and prieſteſſes to be found as at Athens, as there is alſo none where ſuch a number of temples are erected to the gods, or in which ſo many feſtivals are celebrated [h].

In the country towns of Attica, and every other part of Greece, a ſingle prieſt only is required to officiate in a temple. In conſiderable cities, the duties of the prieſthood are ſhared among ſeveral perſons, who form a ſort of community, at the head of which is the miniſter of the god, who ſometimes bears the title of high prieſt. Under him are the Neocoros, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſuperintend the decoration and cleanlineſs of the ſacred places [i], and to ſprinkle holy water on the perſons who viſit the temple [k]; ſacrificing prieſts, who ſlaughter the victims; ſoothſayers, who conſult the entrails; heralds, who adjuſt the ceremonies, and diſmiſs the aſſembly [l]. In ſome places, the name of father is beſtowed on the chief of the prieſts, and that of mother on the principal of the prieſteſſes [m].

Functions of inferior ſanctity, and relative to the ſervice of the temple, are intruſted to lay officers. Some are ap-

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[f] Heſych. in Τδεων. Lemey. de Luſtr. p. 120.
[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 910.
[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 700.
[i] Suid. in Νεωκ.
[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 61.
[l] Pott. Archæolog. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 411.

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pointed to be guardians of the treasury; and others to assist as witnesses and inspectors at solemn sacrifices [n].

The priests officiate in rich vestments, on which are inscribed, in golden letters, the names of the benefactors to the temple [o]. This magnificence derives additional splendour from their personal beauty, their majestic deportment, the sonorousness of their voices, and, above all, from the attributes of the deity whose ministers they are. Thus the priestess of Ceres appears crowned with poppies and ears of corn [p]; the priestess of Minerva, with the ægis, the cuirass, and a helmet crested with tufts of feathers [q].

The priesthood is in many instances annexed to ancient and powerful families, and transmitted from father to son [r].

In others it is conferred by the people [s]; but in no case can this office be filled without a previous examination both of the person and morals of the candidate. It is requisite for the new priest to have no personal deformity [t], and that his conduct should have been at all times irreproachable [u]. With respect to knowledge, it is enough if he is versed in the ritual of the temple to which he is appointed; if he is able to perform the ceremonies with decency, and to discriminate between the different species of prayers and worship to be addressed to the gods [x].

Some temples are served by priestesses, as that of Bacchus in the quarter of the marshes. They are fourteen in number, and appointed by the king-archon [y]. Strict continence is re-

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[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 423. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 630. Ulp. in Demosth. p. 686. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 276

[o] Lib. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Aristog. p. 843.

[p] Call. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 45. Spanh. ib. t. ii. p. 694. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 134. Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 843.

[q] Polyæn. lib. 8. cap. 59.

[r] Plat. de Leg. ibid. Plut. ibid. Hesych. Harpocr. et Suid. in Κωπῶ.

[s] Demosth. Exord. Conc. p. 239.

[t] Etymol. Magn. in Ἀφιλ.

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Æschin in Timarch. p. 263.

[x] Plat. Politic. t. ii. p. 290.

[y] Harpocr. Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in Γερας. Poll. lib. 8. § 108.

quired from them. The wife of this archon, ftyled the queen, initiates them into the myfteries, of which they are the guardians, and obliges them, previous to being received, to take an oath, by which they folemnly affirm that they have always lived in the greateft purity, and fpotlefs from all intercourfe with man [z].

The revenues affigned for the maintenance of the priefts and temples are derived from different fources [a]. A tenth part of all penalties and confifcations is always deducted for Minerva, and a fiftieth for the other deities [b]. A tenth of all the fpoils taken from the enemy is likewife confecrated to the gods [c]. In each temple, two officers, known by the name of Parafites, have the right of exacting a meafure of barley from the different landholders of the diftrict [d]: in a word, there are few temples which do not poffefs houfes and eftates [e].

Thefe revenues, to which may be added the offerings of individuals, are under the direction of the treafurers of the temple [f]. They are employed for the reparation and decorations of the holy places, for the expences incurred by the facrifices, and for the fupport of the priefts, who almoft all have falaries [g], are provided with lodging, and entitled to certain perquifites from every victim. Some poffefs a more confiderable revenue, as the prieftefs of Minerva, to whom a meafure of wheat, another of barley, and an obolus, muft be prefented as often as any perfon dies, or a birth takes place in the family [h].

Befides thefe advantages, the priefts have an intereft in maintaining the right of afylum, granted not only to the temples, but to the facred groves in which they ftand, and to

z Demofth. in Neær. p. 873.

a Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 66.

b Demofth in Timocr. p. 791. Xenoph. Hift. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

c Demofth. ibid. Sophocl. Trach. v. 186. Harpocr. in Δεκατη.

d Crates, ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 235.

e Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. p. 759. Harpocr. in Ἀπὸ μισθ. Mauffac. ibid. Taylor, in Marmor. Sand. p. 64. Chandler, Infcrip. part 2. p. 75.

f Ariftot. Politic. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 423. Chandl. Infcript. not. p. xv. &c.

g Æfchin. in Ctefiph. p. 430.

h Ariftot. Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502.

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the houſes and chaples within their precincts [i]. A criminal cannot be torn from thence, nor even prevented from receiving his ſubſiſtence. This privilege, as offenſive to the gods as it is convenient to their miniſters, extends even to detached altars [k].

In Egypt the prieſts form the firſt claſs of the ſtate, without being obliged to contribute to its neceſſities, though the third part of the landed property be ſet apart for their maintenance. The purity of their manners, and the auſterity of their lives, ſecure them the confidence of the people; and their knowledge that of the ſovereign, whoſe council they compoſe, and who muſt be either taken from their body, or have become a member of it before he aſcends the throne [l]. Interpreters as they are of the will of the gods, and diſpoſers of that of men, excluſive guardians of the ſciences, and eſpecially of the ſecrets of medicine [m], the power they enjoy is boundleſs, ſince the prejudices and weakneſſes of men are under their abſolute direction.

Thoſe of Greece have obtained honours; ſuch as diſtinguiſhed places at the theatres [n]. All might, if they choſe, confine themſelves to the functions of their ſacred miniſtry, and ſpend their days in pleaſing indolence [o]; but many of them, anxious to merit by their zeal the reſpect due to their character, have filled the moſt important and burdenſome offices of the republic, and ſerved it in armies, and in embaſſies [p].

They form no ſeparate and independent body [q], nor is there any common intereſt between the miniſters of different tem-

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 134. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 14.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126.

[l] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66. Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 354.

[m] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 758. Laert. lib. 3. § 6.

[n] Chandl. Inſcrip. part 2. p. 73. Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 299.

[o] Iſocr. de Permut. t. ii. p. 410.

[p] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 85. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 590. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 880.

[q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 72.

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ples; and in causes which personally respect them they are amenable to the ordinary tribunals.

The nine archons, or supreme magistrates, watch over the public worship, and are always at the head of religious ceremonies. The office of the second, known by the name of king, is to prosecute for all offences against religion, to preside at the public sacrifices, and decide all contests between the sacerdotal families, on the subject of any vacant priesthood [r]. The priests may indeed direct the sacrifices of individuals; but if in these acts of piety they happen to transgress the established laws, they cannot escape the vigilance of the magistrates. In our time we have seen the high priest of Ceres punished, by order of government, for having violated these laws in articles apparently of no importance [s].

Next to the priests, we must place those interpreters whose profession is held in honour by the state, and who are maintained by it in the prytaneum [t]. They read futurity in the flight of birds, and in the entrails of victims. They accompany the armies; and on their decision not unfrequently depend revolutions in governments, and the operations of a campaign. They are found in every part of Greece, but the most celebrated are those of Elis. There, for many centuries past, two or three families have transmitted from father to son the art of predicting events, and of averting or suspending the calamities incident to mortals. Sometimes their answers are offered to sale to the best bidders [u].

The soothsayers extend their ministry still farther, and take consciences under their guidance. They are consulted to know whether certain actions are or are not conformable to the divine law [x]. Some I have seen carry their fanaticism even to gloomy severity, and who, esteeming themselves the

[r] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90. Sigon.

[s] Demosth. in Neær. p. 880.

[t] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1084. Schol. ibid.

[u] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 33. Pans. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232; lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 317; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 454. Cicer. de Divinat. lib 1. cap. 41. t. iii. p. 34.

[x] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 4.

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guardians of the ſacred ordinances of heaven, would have proſecuted their father to death, were he guilty of a murder [y].

About two or three centuries ago, certain men appeared, who, without having received any authority from the government, ſet themſelves up as interpreters of the will of the gods, and cheriſhed among the people a credulity they either did, or affected to poſſeſs, wandering from country to country, menacing all nations with the wrath of heaven, inventing and teaching new rites to appeaſe it, and rendering men more weak and unhappy than they are, by diſſeminating terror and remorſe. Some owed their high reputation to impoſture, others to ſuperior knowledge and genius. Among the number of theſe were Abaris of Scythia, Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Epimenides of Crete [z].

The impreſſion they left in the minds of men has perpetuated the reign of ſuperſtition. The people imagine they diſcover manifeſt tokens of the will of the gods, at all times, and in all places; in eclipſes, in the noiſe of thunder, in the great phenomena of nature, and in the moſt fortuitous events. Dreams [a], the unexpected ſight of certain animals [b], a convulſive motion of the eyelids [c], a tingling of the ears [d], ſneezing [e], a few words caſually dropt, and a variety of the moſt indifferent natural effects, are become, in their idea, ſo many fortunate or inauſpicious omens. Do you find a ſerpent in your houſe? erect an altar on the very ſpot [f]. Do you ſee a kite hovering in the air? drop inſtantly upon your knees [g]. Is your imagination diſturbed by uneaſineſs or malady? it is Empuſa who has appeared to you; it is a phantom ſent by

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[y] Id. ibid. p. 5.

[z] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 109. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 357.

[a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 63. Sophocl. Electr. v. 426

[b] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.

[c] Theocr. Idyl. 3. v. 37.

[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 17.

[e] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 721.

[f] Theophr. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 4. ſcen. 4.

[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 501.

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Hecate, which assumes all sorts of forms in order to torment the wretched [h].

In all these circumstances recourse is had to the soothsayers and interpreters [i]; and the remedies they prescribe are as chimerical as the imaginary mischiefs.

Some of these impostors insinuate themselves into opulent families, and avail themselves of the prejudices of weak minds [k]. They pretend to possess infallible secrets to enchain the power of evil spirits. Their promises hold out likewise three advantages extremely alluring to the rich, and which consist in fortifying them against remorse, avenging them of their enemies, and ensuring the continuance of their happiness beyond the grave. The prayers and expiations they practise on these occasions are contained in ancient rituals, which bear the names of Orpheus and Musæus [l].

Women of the dregs of the populace follow the same traffic [m], and go from house to house, among the poorer people, to distribute a kind of initiation, in which they sprinkle water on the initiated, rub him with mud and bran, clothe him in the skin of an animal, and accompany these ceremonies with formularies read out of their ritual, and piercing shrieks that strike terror and awe into the multitude.

Enlightened persons, though exempt in general from these weaknesses, are not the less attached to the other ceremonies of religion. After any fortunate event, in time of sickness, or the smallest danger, at the recollection of a frightful dream, they fail not to offer sacrifices, and often build chapels in their houses, which have become so numerous, as to induce pious philosophers to wish to see them all suppressed, and that individuals might offer up their vows to heaven only in the temples [n].

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h Id. in Ran. v. 295.
i Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
k Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 364.
l Id. ibid.
m Demosth. de Cor. p. 516. Laert. lib. 10. § 4.
n Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 909.

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But how is it possible to reconcile the popular confidence in holy ceremonies with the ideas entertained of the sovereign of the gods? For it is permitted to consider Jupiter as an usurper, who expelled his father from the throne of the universe, and is in his turn to be one day driven from it by his son. This doctrine, maintained by the sect of the pretended disciples of Orpheus [o], has been boldly adopted by Æschylus, in a tragedy frequently represented and applauded under the sanction of the government [p].

I have already observed that, within the last century, new gods have been introduced among the Athenians. I should add that, within the same period, incredulity has made equal progress. No sooner had the Greeks received the light of philosophy, than some amongst them, astonished at the irregularities and deformities of nature, were not less so at perceiving it impossible to find a solution of them, in the shapeless system of religion they had hitherto taken for their guide. Doubts succeeded to ignorance, and generated licentious opinions, embraced with avidity by youthful minds [q]: but their authors became objects of the public hatred. The people alleged that they had shaken off the yoke of religion only to abandon themselves to their passions with less restraint [r]; and the government believed itself called upon to proceed with severity against them. The following are the arguments urged in justification of this intolerance.

Public worship being prescribed by one of the fundamental laws [s], and thence closely connected with the constitution, it is impossible to attack religion without endangering that constitution. It is the duty therefore of the magistrates to maintain it, and to oppose all innovations visibly tending to its destruction. They neither subject to censure the fabulous

[o] Procl. in Plat. l. 5. p. 291. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 265.

[p] Æsch. in Prom. v. 290, 755 et 947.

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 886.

[r] Id. ibid.

[s] Porpyhr. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 380.

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hiſtories of the origin of the gods, nor philoſophical opinions concerning their nature, nor even indecent pleaſantries on the actions attributed to them by religion: but they proſecute and puniſh with death the men who ſpeak or write againſt their exiſtence; who contemptuouſly break their ſtatues; or thoſe, in fine, who violate the ſecret of the myſteries avowed and protected by the government.

Thus, while the external acts of piety are left to the regulation of the prieſts, and the magiſtrates poſſeſs the authority neceſſary to maintain religion, poets are left at liberty to frame new genealogies for the gods [t], and philoſophers to diſcuſs the moſt delicate queſtions concerning the eternity of matter, and the formation of the univerſe [u], provided that, in the proſecution of theſe ſubjects, they do but ſteer clear of the two following rocks: firſt, they muſt be careful not to approach too near the doctrine taught in the myſteries; and, ſecondly, not to advance, without modification, principles which would neceſſarily involve the downfal of a worſhip eſtabliſhed from time immemorial. In both theſe caſes, they are proſecuted as guilty of impiety.

This accuſation is the more formidable to innocence, as it has more than once been employed to ſerve the purpoſes of enmity and revenge, and eaſily enkindles the fury of a people, whoſe zeal is ſtill more cruel than that of their prieſts and magiſtrates.

Every citizen may ſtand forth as an accuſer, and lodge an information againſt the culprit before the ſecond of the archons [x], who carries the cauſe into the court of the heliaſtæ, one of the chief tribunals of Athens. Sometimes the charge is made in the aſſembly of the people [y]. When it reſpects the myſteries of Ceres, the ſenate takes cognizance of it, unleſs the accuſed chooſes to bring it before the Eumolpidæ [z];

[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 156. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2. p. 491.
[u] Plat. Ariſtot. &c.
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.
[y] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 2. Plut. in Alcib. t i. p. 200
[z] Demoſt. ir. Androt. p. 703. Ulpian. p. 718.

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for this facerdotal family, attached from the earliest ages to the temple of that goddess, still retains a jurisdiction, confined in its exercise to the profanation of the mysteries, but which is remarkably severe. The proceedings of the Eumolpidæ are regulated by oral laws, of which they are the interpreters, and which deliver over the criminal not only to human punishment, but to the vengeance of the gods [a]. But he rarely exposes himself to the rigour of this tribunal.

It has happened, that the accused has saved his life by declaring his accomplices; but he is still rendered incapable of participating in sacrifices, festivals, spectacles, and the privileges of the other citizens [b]. This mark of infamy is sometimes accompanied with tremendous ceremonies. These are imprecations which the priests of the different temples solemnly pronounce by order of the magistrates [c]. Turning towards the west, and shaking their purple robes, they devote to the infernal deities the criminal and his posterity [d]. From that moment, the furies are supposed to take possession of his heart, and never to relax their torments, but with the total extinction of his race.

The facerdotal family of the Eumolpidæ display more zeal for the maintenance of the mysteries of Ceres, than is manifested by the other priests in favour of the established religion. They have been sometimes known to prosecute criminals before the courts of justice [e]; yet it must be admitted, to their commendation, that, on certain occasions, far from seconding the fury of the people, ready to massacre on the spot individuals accused of having profaned the mysteries, they have insisted that they should be tried and condemned according to the laws [f]. Among these laws, there is one, sometimes carried into execution, and capable, doubtless, of checking

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[a] Lys. in Andoc. p. 108.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 115.
[c] Liv. lib. 31. cap. 44.
[d] Lys. in. Andoc. p. 129.
[e] Andocid. de Myst. p. 15.
[f] Lys. in Andoc. p. 130.

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ing the fury and injuſtice of the moſt violent enmities, were it poſſible to reſtrain them. By this law, it is ordained, that either the accuſer or the accuſed ſhall ſuffer death; the former if he fails in his accuſation, the latter if the crime be proved [g].

It now remains for me to enumerate ſome of the principal caſes in which the Athenian tribunals have pronounced ſentence againſt the crime of impiety, within about a century.

The poet Æſchylus was accuſed of having, in one of his tragedies, revealed the doctrine of the myſteries. His brother Amynias endeavoured to move the compaſſion of the judges, by ſhowing the wounds he had received at the battle of Salamis: this expedient would probably have failed in its effect, had not Æſchylus clearly proved that he had not been initiated into the myſteries. The people were waiting at the door of the tribunal to ſtone him [h].

The philoſopher Diagoras, of Melos, accuſed of revealing the myſteries, and denying the exiſtence of the gods, ſaved himſelf by flight. Rewards were offered to any perſon who ſhould deliver him up, alive or dead; and the decree that branded him with infamy, was engraven on a brazen column [i].

Protagoras, one of the moſt illuſtrious ſophiſts of his time, having begun one of his works with theſe words, "I know not whether there be gods, or whether there be not;" was criminally proſecuted, and obliged to fly. His writings were ſought for in private houſes, and burnt in the forum [k].

Prodicus of Ceos was condemned to drink poiſon, for having aſſerted, that men had placed among the number of the

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g Andocid. de Myſt. p. 4.

h Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 461.

i Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 111. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 323. Id. in Av. v 1073. Schol. ibid

k Laert. lib. 9. cap. 52. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 493. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 416.

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gods all objects from which they derived utility; such as the sun, the moon, fountains, &c [l].

The faction which opposed Pericles, not daring openly to attack him, resolved to effect his ruin by indirect means. He was the friend of Anaxagoras, who admitted one supreme intelligence. In virtue of a decree enacted against all who deny the existence of the gods, Anaxagoras was dragged to prison. On his trial, he had only a few more suffrages in his favour than his accuser, and for these he was indebted to the prayers and tears of Pericles, who sent him out of Athens. But for the influence of his patron, the most religious of philosophers would have been stoned to death as an atheist [m].

At the time of the Sicilian expedition, and at the moment that Alcibiades was embarking the troops under his command, the statues of Mercury, placed in different quarters of Athens, were found all mutilated in one night [n]. The whole city was instantly thrown into consternation. Views of a more profound nature were imputed to the authors of this impiety, which was regarded as the work of faction. The people immediately assembled; and witnesses appeared, who charged Alcibiades with disfiguring the statues, accusing him, at the same time, with celebrating the mysteries of Ceres in private houses [o], with the companions of his debaucheries. The soldiers, however, loudly taking the part of their general, his trial was suspended for that time; but scarcely had he landed in Sicily before his enemies resumed the charge [p], informers multiplied, and the prisons were filled with citizens devoted to destruction by injustice. Several were put to death, and others escaped only by flight [q].

In the course of these proceedings, an incident occurred, that evinces the excess to which the people carry their blind

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[l] Cicer. ibid. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Phys. lib. 9. p. 552. Suid. in Πρω.

[m] Hermip. et Hieron. ap. Laert. l. 2. § 13. Plut. de Profect. t. ii. p. 84. Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 14. cap. 14.

[n] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200.

[o] Andoc. de Myst. p. 3.

[p] Plut. ibid. p. 201.

[q] Andoc. ibid.

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resentment. One of the witnesses being interrogated, by what means he could distinguish the persons in question in the night? answered, By the light of the moon. It was proved, however, that there was then no moon; yet this glaring perjury, which filled every honest citizen with dismay[r], only served to increase the fury of the people.

Alcibiades, summoned before this unworthy tribunal, when on the point of making himself master of Messina, and perhaps of all Sicily, refused to make his appearance, and was condemned to die. His estates were sold, and the decree proscribing him, and branding his name with infamy, was engraven upon a column[s]. The priests of all the temples had orders to pronounce against him the most horrible imprecations; and all obeyed, except the priestess Theano, whose answer was more worthy of being preserved on a column than the popular decree: "I was appointed to my office," said she, "to procure for men the blessings, and not to pronounce on them the curses of heaven[t]."

Alcibiades having offered his services to the enemies of his country, reduced the Athenians to the very brink of ruin. When they found it at length necessary to recal him, the priests of Ceres opposed his return[u], but were at last constrained to absolve him from the imprecations with which they had loaded him; the chief of the sacred ministers, however, boldly expressed himself in the following remarkable terms: "I have not cursed Alcibiades, if he were innocent[x]."

Sometime after occurred the prosecution against Socrates, in which religion was only the pretext, as I shall hereafter demonstrate.

Nor are the Athenians more indulgent to the crime of sacrilege. The laws punish this offence with death, and de-

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r Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 201.
s Nep in Alcib. cap. 4.
t Plut. ibid. p. 202. Id. Quæst. Rom. t. ii. p. 275.
u Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 53.
x Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.

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prive the body of the criminal of the rites of ſepulture [y]. This puniſhment, which ſome philoſophers, in other reſpects enlightened, do not conſider as too ſevere [z], is extended by the falſe zeal of the Athenians even to the ſlighteſt tranſgreſſions. Incredible as it may appear, citizens have been condemned to die, ſome for having pulled up a ſhrub within the precincts of a ſacred wood; and others for having killed I know not what bird, conſecrated to Æſculapius [a]. But I ſhall relate a ſtill more dreadful inſtance of ſeverity. A leaf of gold having fallen from the crown of Diana, was picked up by an infant. The child was ſo very young, that it was neceſſary to make trial of his diſcernment. The leaf of gold, therefore, with ſome dice, ſome play-things, and a large piece of money, were preſented to him; and the child having given the preference to the money, the judges declared this to be a ſufficient proof of his capacity of guilt, and cauſed him to be put to death [b].

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[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 854.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 17.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 16. Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 75.

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NOTES.

NOTE I.

On the Dialects made use of by Homer.—Page 49.

Homer frequently employs the different dialects of Greece; and this has been imputed to him as a fault. It is, say these critics, as if a French writer were to lay under contribution the dialects of Languedoc, of Picardy, and other local idioms. The reproach is apparently well founded. But how is it possible to imagine that Homer, endowed with the readiest and most fertile genius, should have allowed himself to take liberties, on which the most inconsiderable of poets would not venture; and have dared to create, in order to facilitate his versification, a fantastic language, with which not only posterity, but even his own age, however ignorant we may suppose it, must have been disgusted? It is more natural therefore to conclude that he made use of the usual language of his time.

Among the ancient inhabitants of Greece, the same letters signified sounds more or less aspirated, or more or less open; the same words had several terminations, and were variously modified. These undoubtedly were irregularities, but such as are common enough in the infancy of languages, and such as might well have subsisted for a long time among the Greeks, from the frequency of emigrations. When these tribes of people were completely settled, certain modes of speech became peculiar to certain districts; and it was at this period that language was divided into dialects, which of themselves were susceptible of subdivisions. The

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frequent variations words have undergone, as we ſee in the moſt ancient monuments of our own language, give us reaſon to preſume that the ſame thing has happened in the language of Greece.

To this general reaſon we muſt add another relative to the country in which Homer wrote. The Ionian colony, which, two centuries before the birth of that poet, went to ſettle on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, under Naoclus, the ſon of Codrus, was in a great meaſure compoſed of Ionians from Peloponneſus; but they were joined likewiſe by a number of the inhabitants of Thebes, Phocis, and ſome other countries of Greece [a].

It appears to me probable, therefore, that the language made uſe of by Homer was formed from a mixture of the reſpective idioms of theſe emigrants with thoſe of the Æolians and other Greek colonies bordering on Ionia; but that at length, by the progreſſive alterations common to all languages, ſome dialects were circumſcribed within certain cities, and aſſumed more diſtinct characters, retaining, nevertheleſs, varieties ſufficient to atteſt the ancient confuſion. And in fact Herodotus, who wrote four hundred years after Homer [b], admits four ſubdiviſions in the dialect then ſpoken in Ionia [c].

NOTE II.

On Epimenides.—Page 61.

Every thing relative to Epimenides is full of obſcurity. Some ancient authors make him come to Athens towards the year 600 before Chriſt. Plato is the only one who fixes the date of this journey to the year 500 before the ſame æra [d]. This difficulty has perplexed the modern critics. It has been ſaid that the text of Plato was corrupted; but this does not appear to have been the caſe. It has likewiſe been ſaid that there were two perſons of the name of Epimenides; but this ſuppoſition is deſtitute of probability. In fine, after ſome ancient authors, who make Epimenides

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[a] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 528.
[b] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 53.
[c] Id. lib. 1. cap. 142.
[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641.

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live 154, 157, nay even 299 years, some have ventured to advance that he came twice to Athens, the first time at the age of forty, and the second at that of one hundred and fifty [e]. It is indeed possible that this may be true; but it is still more so that Plato was mistaken. For further satisfaction, the reader may consult Fabricius [f].

NOTE III.

On the Authority of Fathers at Athens.—Page 72.

When we see Solon depriving fathers of the power of selling their children, as they had formerly done, we can with difficulty believe that he allowed them to put them to death, as several ancient writers, posterior to that legislator, have asserted [g]. I should rather be inclined to credit the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, in his Roman Antiquities [h], observes, that, by the laws of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, the Greeks only permitted fathers to disinherit their children, or expel them their houses, without suffering them to inflict any severer punishments. If the Greeks afterwards gave a greater extent to the paternal power, it is to be presumed that they borrowed the idea from the Roman laws.

NOTE IV.

On the Song of Harmodius and Aristogiton.—Page 88.

Athenæus [i] has given us one of the songs composed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which M. de la Nauze [k] has thus translated:

[e] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 72.

[f] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 36 et 502. Brucker. Histor. Crit. Philos. t. i. p. 419.

[g] Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 180. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 24. Vid. Meurs. Them. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[h] Dionys. Halic. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 292.

[i] Athen. lib. 15. cap. 15. p. 695.

[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. § x. p. 337.

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"I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens.

"Beloved Harmodius! thou art not dead: they ſay thou liveſt in the iſlands of the bleſſed, where is the ſwift-footed Achilles, and Diomed the valiant ſon of Tydeus.

"I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant Hipparchus at the feſtival of the Panathenæa.

"May your glory be eternal, beloved Harmodius, beloved Ariſtogiton! ſince you have ſlain the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens."

NOTE V.

On the Treaſures of the Kings of Perſia.—Page 98.

We ſee, by what is ſaid in the text, the reaſon why Alexander found ſuch vaſt ſums accumulated in the treaſuries of Perſepolis, Suſa, Paſagarda, &c.[l] I doubt, notwithſtanding, whether we ſhould give credit to Juſtin, when he ſays[m], that, after the conqueſt of Perſia, Alexander annually drew three hundred thouſand talents from his new ſubjects, which would make about ſixteen hundred and twenty millions of French livres (or ſixty-ſeven millions and a half ſterling).

NOTE VI.

On the Bridges of Boats built over the Helleſpont, by Order of Xerxes.—Page 115.

These two bridges began at Abydos, and terminated a little below Seſtus. It is now known, that this paſſage, which is the

[l] Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 128. Ib. cap. 18. p. 131. Quint. Curt. lib. 5. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 544. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 686.

[m] Juſtin. lib. 13. cap. 1.

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narrowest part of the strait, is only about 375½ toises (or 800 yards) wide. As the length of the bridges is said to have been seven stadia, M. D'Anville has from thence inferred, that these stadia were only 51 toises (108 yards) each [n].

NOTE VII.

On the Number of Grecian Troops under the Command of Leonidas at Thermopylæ.—Page 125.

I SHALL now lay before the reader the estimates of Herodotus, lib. 7. cap. 202; of Pausanias, lib. 10. cap. 20. page 845; and of Diodorus, lib. 11. p. 4.

TROOPS OF PELOPONNESUS.

According to Herodotus.		According to Pausanias.		According to Diodorus.	
Spartans	300	Spartans	300	Spartans	300
Tegeatæ	500	Tegeatæ	500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans	500	Mantineans	500		
Orchomenians	120	Orchomenians	120		
Arcadians	1000	Arcadians	1000		
Corinthians	400	Corinthians	400		
Phliuntians	200	Phliuntians	200	Other States of Peloponnesus	3000
Myceneans	80	Myceneans	80		
Total	3100	Total	3100	Total	4000

OTHER STATES OF GREECE.

Thespians	700	Thespians	700	Milesians	1000
Thebans	400	Thebans	400	Thebans	400
Phocians	1000	Phocians	1000	Phocians	1000
Opuntian-Locrians		Locrians	6000	Locrians	1000
Total	5200	Total	11,200	Total	7400

[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 334.

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Thus, according to Herodotus, the cities of Peloponnesus furnished 3100 soldiers, the Thespians 700, the Thebans 400, the Phocians 1000; total 5200, without reckoning the Opuntian-Locrians, who marched in a body.

Pausanias follows, for the other nations, the calculation of Herodotus, and conjectures that the Locrians amounted to 6000; which gives a total of 11,200 men.

According to Diodorus, Leonidas repaired to Thermopylæ at the head of 4000 men, among whom were 300 Spartans, and 700 Lacedæmonians. He adds, that this body was soon reinforced by 1000 Milesians, 400 Thebans, 1000 Locrians, and almost an equal number of Phocians; total 7400 men. On the other hand, Justin [o] and other authors say, that Leonidas had but 4000 men.

These doubts would perhaps vanish, if we had all the inscriptions which were engraved after the battle, on five columns erected at Thermopylæ [p]. We still have that of the augur Megistias [q]; but this throws no light on the subject: the others were consecrated to the soldiers of the different nations. On that of the Spartans, it is said they were 300; on another, it was inscribed, that 4000 soldiers of Peloponnesus had fought against three millions of Persians [r]. That of the Locrians is quoted by Strabo, who does not give us the particulars [s]: the number of their soldiers must have been on it. We have not the last, which was doubtless for the Thespians; for it could not be either for the Phocians, who did not fight, or the Thebans, who had gone over to Xerxes when these monuments were erected.

The following are a few reflections to reconcile the preceding estimates:

1. It is evident that Justin relied solely on the inscription in honour of the nations of Peloponnesus, when he allows only 4000 men to Leonidas.

2. Herodotus does not fix the number of the Locrians. It is only by a slight conjecture that Pausanias makes it amount to 6000. In the first place, Strabo may be opposed to him, who positively

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[o] Justin. lib. 2 cap. 11.
[p] Strab. lib. 9. p. 4[illegible].
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 228.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Strab. ibid.

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says [t], that Leonidas received from the neighbouring nations only a small number of soldiers; and next, Diodorus Siculus, who, in his estimate, allows only 1000 Locrians.

3. In the enumeration of these troops, Diodorus has omitted the Thespians [u], though he makes mention of them in the course of his narration [x]: instead of the Thespians, he reckons 1000 Milesians. No people of this name are known on the continent of Greece. Paulmier [y] is of opinion, that we should substitute the name of Malians for that of Milesians. These Malians had at first submitted to Xerxes [z]; and, as we might be surprised at seeing them united with the Greeks, Paulmier supposes, from a passage of Herodotus [a], that they did not declare openly for the Persians until after the fight at Thermopylæ. Is it, however, to be presumed, that, inhabiting, as they did, an open country, they would have dared to take up arms against a powerful nation, to which they had sworn obedience? It is much more probable, that, in the affair of Thermopylæ, they furnished succours neither to the Greeks nor Persians; but that, after the battle, they sent some ships to join the fleet of the latter. By whatever means this error has crept into the text of Diodorus, I am inclined to think, that instead of 1000 Milesians, we should read 700 Thespians.

4. Diodorus adds 700 Lacedæmonians to the 300 Spartans; and his testimony is clearly confirmed by that of Isocrates [b]. Herodotus does not mention them, perhaps from their not beginning their march till after Leonidas. I have, however, thought it right to admit them. Independent of the authorities of Diodorus and Isocrates, we know that the Spartans seldom took the field without being accompanied by a body of Lacedæmonians. It is also certain, that the cities of Peloponnesus furnished 4000 men: this number was clearly expressed in the inscription placed upon their tomb; yet Herodotus reckons only 3100, not thinking it necessary to mention the 700 Lacedæmonians, who, according to all appearance, joined Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

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[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 429.
[u] Diod. lib. 11. p. 5.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 8
[y] Palmer. Exercit. p. 106.
[z] Diod. lib 11. p. 3.
[a] Herodot. lib. 8 cap. 66.
[b] Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 164; et in Archid. t. ii p. 62.

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To conclude these remarks—Herodotus carries the number of the combatants to 5200; and if we add, on the one hand, 700 Lacedæmonians, and, on the other, the Locrians, whose number he has not specified, and who are stated by Diodorus only at 1000, we shall have 6900 men.

Pausanias reckons 11,200 men; and if we add the 700 Lacedæmonians he has omitted, after the example of Herodotus, we shall have 11,900. Let us reduce, with Diodorus, the 6000 Locrians to 1000, and we shall have a total of 6900 men.

The calculation of Diodorus gives us 7400 men. If we change the 1000 Milesians into 700 Thespians, we shall have 7100: on the whole, therefore, we may say, that Leonidas had with him about 7000 men.

It appears by Herodotus [c], that the Spartans, according to custom, were accompanied by Helots. Ancient authors have not comprised them in their estimates; and possibly they did not exceed the number of 300.

When Leonidas learned that the enemy were attempting to turn his army, he sent back the greater part of his troops, retaining only the Spartans, the Thespians, and Thebans, which formed a nominal body of 1400 men: but the greater part had perished in the first attacks; and, if we may credit Diodorus [d], Leonidas had no more than 500 soldiers when he determined to attack the Persian camp.

NOTE VIII.

On the Sums expended on the Public Edifices erected by Order of Pericles.—Page 229.

THUCYDIDES [e] gives us to understand, that they amounted to 3700 talents; in which calculation he comprises not only the expence of the Propylæa, and other edifices built by order of Pericles, but that of the siege of Potidæa. This siege, says he elsewhere [f], cost 2000

[c] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 229; et lib. 8. cap. 25.
[d] Diod. lib. 11. p. 8, 9.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 70.

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talents; there would therefore only remain 1700 for the works undertaken by the direction of Pericles. But an ancient author[g] reports, that the Propylæa alone cost 2012 talents.

To resolve this difficulty, let us observe that Thucydides has only given us the state of the Athenian finances for the precise time when the Peloponnesian war was determined on; that the siege of Potidæa was then scarcely begun; that it lasted two years; and that the historian, in the former passage, spoke only of the first expences of the siege. Supposing that they then amounted to 700 talents, we will appropriate the remaining 3000 to the buildings with which Pericles embellished the city. 3000 talents, at 5400 livres each talent, make 16,200,000 livres (or 675,000l. sterling); but as, in the time of Pericles, the talent might be worth 300 livres more, we shall have 17,100,000 livres (or 712,500l. sterling).

CHAP. I.—Page 236.

On the Privileges mutually granted to each other by Leucon and the Athenians.

That these privileges might be known to all persons engaged in commerce, they were engraved on three columns, the first of which was placed in the Piræus; the second at the Bosphorus of Thrace; and the third at the Cimmerian Bosphorus, that is to say, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the termination of the course pursued by the trading vessels[a].

CHAP. III.—Page 274.

On Sappho.

The part of the Parian Chronicle which mentions Sappho is almost entirely obliterated on the marble[b]; but we read very distinctly

[g] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in πρυτανία.

[a] Demosth. adv. Leptin. p. 546.
[b] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 37.

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that she fled, and embarked for Sicily. It was not, therefore, to follow Phaon, as it is pretended, that she went to that island. It is probable that Alcæus engaged her in the conspiracy against Pittacus, and that she was banished from Mytilene, at the same time with him and his partisans.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 276.

On the Ode of Sappho.

Heureux celui qui près de toi soupire,
Qui sur lui seul attire ces beaux yeux,
Ces doux accens et ce tendre sourire!
Il est égal aux dieux.
De veine en veine une subtile flâme
Court dans mon sein, sitôt que je te vois;
Et dans le trouble où s'égare mon âme
Je demeure sans voix.
Je n'entends plus; un voile est sur ma vue;
Je rêve, et tombe en de douces langueurs;
Et sans haleine, interdite, éperdue,
Je tremble, je me meurs.

ON reading this free translation, for which I am indebted to the friendship of the Abbé Delille, it will easily be perceived that he has thought proper to avail himself of that of Boileau, and that his sole object was to give some idea of the species of measure invented, or at least frequently employed by Sappho. In the greater part of her works, each strophe was composed of hendecasyllabic verses, that is, verses of eleven syllables, and closed by a verse of five syllables.

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CHAP. V.—Page 286.

On Epaminondas.

Clearchus of Solos, cited by Athenæus[c], relates a fact capable of rendering the purity of the morals of Epaminondas suspected; but this fact, which is only obscurely hinted, would contradict the united testimony of all antiquity, and can by no means be reconciled with the rigid principles from which this great man never deviated, even in the most critical circumstances.

CHAP. IX.—Page 339.

On the Time of celebrating the greater Festivals of Bacchus.

It is presumed that the greater Dionysia, or Dionysia of the city, began on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion[d]. In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the year in question, the 12th of the month Elaphebolion fell on the 8th of April of the Julian proleptic year 362.

CHAP. XII.—Page 364.

On the Plan of Athens.

I thought it not improper to lay before the reader the sketch of a plan of Athens, relatively to the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. It is extremely imperfect, and I am very far from being able to warrant its exactness.

After comparing what ancient authors have said respecting the topography of this city, with what modern travellers have imagined they discovered in its ruins, I have only attempted to ascertain, as accurately as I was able, the position of some remarkable places and edifices. To accomplish this, it was first necessary to

c Athen. lib. 13. cap. 6. p. 590.
d Dodwel. de Cycl. p. 298. Id. Ann. Thucyd. p. 165. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 326 et 385.

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determine in what quarter the forum, called the *agora*, that is to ſay, market, by the Greeks, was ſituated.

In all the Grecian cities, there was a principal place, or ſquare, decorated with ſtatues, altars, temples, and other public edifices, ſurrounded by ſhops, and filled at certain hours of the day with the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people. The inhabitants reſorted thither every day. The twenty thouſand citizens of Athens, ſays Demoſthenes [e], never ceaſe to frequent the forum, occupied either with their own affairs, or with thoſe of the ſtate.

Among ancient authors, I have preferred the teſtimonies of Plato, Xenophon, Demoſthenes, and Æſchines, who lived at the time I have choſen. Should Pauſanias [f] appear in ſome degree to differ from them, I apprize the reader that it is the forum, as it exiſted in their time, and not that he ſpeaks of, which is the ſubject of the preſent inquiry. The ſame anſwer I ſhould make to thoſe who might oppoſe paſſages to me, relative to periods too remote from the time of which I ſpeak.

The Forum, or Agora. The poſition of this place is determined by the ſubſequent paſſages. Æſchines ſays [g], "Imagine yourſelf in the Pœcile (a celebrated portico), for in the forum are the monuments of your great achievements." Lucian introduces ſeveral philoſophers in one of his dialogues [h], and makes Plato ſay, "It is unneceſſary to go to the houſe of that woman (Philoſophy). On her return from the academy, ſhe will come, according to cuſtom, to the Ceramicus, in order to walk in the Pœcile." "At the taking of Athens, by Sylla," ſays Plutarch [i], "the blood ſpilt in the forum deluged the Ceramicus, which is within the gate Dipylon; and many perſons affirm that it flowed out of the gate, and ſpread even over the ſuburb."

Hence it follows, 1ſt, That this place was ſituated in the quarter of the Ceramicus: 2dly, that it was near the gate Dipylon, the gate which led to the academy: 3dly, that the Pœcile was in that place.

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[e] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 836.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 1.
[g] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458.
[h] Lucian. in Piſcat. t. i. p. 581.
[i] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 460.

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Æschines, in the passage I have quoted, gives us clearly to understand, that the Metroon was likewise in that place. This was an enclosure and temple, in honour of the mother of the gods. Within its precincts also stood the palace of the senate, a circumstance confirmed by many passages [k].

Next to the Metroon, I have placed the edifices and monuments immediately indicated by Pausanias [l], as the Tholus, the statues of the Eponymi, &c. Taking Herodotus [m] for my guide, I have placed there the temple of Æacus; and following Demosthenes [n], the Leocorion, a temple built in honour of the daughters of Leos, who formerly sacrificed themselves, to free the city from the plague.

Royal Portico. I have placed this at the junction of two streets leading to the forum. The first is pointed out by Pausanias [o], who proceeds from this portico to the Metroon; the second by an ancient author [p], who positively says, that from the Pœcile to the Royal Portico, that is to say, between one portico and the other, we meet with several Hermæ or statues of Mercury, terminated in a sheath.

Poecile and Portico of the Hermæ. From this last passage, I have placed the Pœcile at the end of a street which goes from the Royal Portico to the forum, and at one end of the corners of the street fronting the forum. On the opposite corner should be an edifice, sometimes called the Portico of the Hermæ, and sometimes simply by the name of the Hermæ [q]. To prove that it was in the forum, it will be sufficient to adduce two testimonies. Mnesimachus, in one of his comedies, has said, "Begone to the Agora, to the Hermæ [r]." "On certain festivals," says Xenophon [s], "it is fitting that the horsemen should pay due honours to the temples and the statues which are in the Agora. They shall begin at the Hermæ, make the circuit of the Agora, and return

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k Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 458. Plut. Vit. X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητραγ. Harpocr. in ὁ Καθωτιν.

l Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 12.

m Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 89.

n Demosth. in Conon. p. 1109 et 1113.

o Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 3.

p Ap. Harpocr. in Ἑρμαῖ.

q Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 458. Lys. in Pancl. p. 398. Demost. in Leptin. p. 557. Meurs. Athen. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 3.

r Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 402

s Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.

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to the Hermæ." I have hence ſuppoſed. that this portico might terminate the ſtreet along which were ranged a ſeries of Hermæ.

The Pœcile was in the forum, in the time of Æſchines, but was ſo no longer in the time of Pauſanias, who ſpeaks of this portico previous to his viſiting the Agora [t]; alterations had been made, therefore, in this quarter. I ſuppoſe that, in the age when Pauſanias lived, one part of the ancient forum was covered with houſes; that towards its ſouthern part only one ſtreet was remaining, in which were the ſenate-houſe, the Tholus, &c.; that the oppoſite part had extended towards the north, and that the Pœcile had been ſeparated from it by buildings; for the changes I have mentioned had not removed the forum to another part of of the city. Pauſanias mentions it as near the Pœcile, and we have ſeen that in the time of Sylla it was ſtill in the Ceramicus, near to the gate Dipylon.

From theſe obſervations it will not be difficult to trace out the path taken by Pauſanias. From the Royal Portico he follows a ſtreet extending along the ſouthern part of the ancient forum; he returns by the ſame way, and viſits ſome monuments which are to the ſouth-weſt of the citadel, ſuch as an edifice which he takes for the ancient Odéum (p. 20), the Eleuſinium (p. 35), &c. He then returns to the Royal Portico (p. 36), and following the ſtreet of the Hermæ, firſt repairs to the Pœcile, and afterward to the forum exiſting in his time (p. 39). which, according to appearances, had formed part of the ancient one, or at leaſt was at no great diſtance from it. I ſhould be much inclined to attribute the changes it had undergone to the emperor Adrian.

On leaving the Agora, Pauſanias proceeds to the gymnaſium of Ptolemy (p. 39). which did not exiſt in the age referred to in my work; and from thence to the temple of Theſeus, which is ſtill remaining. The diſtance from this temple to one of the points of the citadel was given me by M. Foucherot, an able engineer, who accompanied the Comte de Choiſeul Gouffier into Greece, and who, having ſince viſited the antiquities of Athens a

[t] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 36; cap. 17. p. 39.

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ſecond time, has been ſo obliging as to communicate to me all the information he has acquired from an inſpection of the places.

I have followed Pauſanias as far as the Prytaneum (p. 41). From thence he appears to me to have re-aſcended towards the north-eaſt, where he finds ſeveral temples, thoſe of Serapis, of Lucina, and of Jupiter Olympius (p. 42.). He then turns to the eaſtward, and traverſes a quarter which is without the city, in my plan, and which belonged to it in his time, the walls having been deſtroyed. He there viſits the gardens of Venus, the Cynoſarges, and the Lycæum (p. 44); and afterwards croſſes the Iliſſus, and proceeds to the Stadium (p. 45 et 46).

I have not accompanied Pauſanias in this track, becauſe ſeveral of the monuments he there met with were poſterior to the time I have choſen, and the others cannot be admitted into the plan of the city within the walls: but I again take him for a guide, when, on his return to the Prytaneum, he proceeds to the citadel, by the ſtreet of the Tripods.

Street of the Tripods. This ſtreet received its name, according to Pauſanias[u], becauſe in it were ſeveral temples containing tripods of bronze in honour of the gods; which were dedicated in conſequence of victories gained by the tribes of Athens in competitions of muſic and dancing. Now, at the foot of the citadel, to the eaſtward, ſeveral inſcriptions have been diſcovered which make mention of ſuch victories[x]. That beautiful ſtructure, known at preſent by the name of the Lanthern of Demoſthenes, conſtituted one of the principal ornaments of the ſtreet. It was built of marble, on occaſion of the prize decreed to the tribe of Acamantis, under the archonſhip of Avænetus[y], in the year 335 before Chriſt, one year after Anacharſis had quitted Athens. Near this monument an inſcription has been found in theſe later times, given among thoſe collected by Mr. Chandler[z]. In it the tribe Pandionis decreed a column to be erected, in the edifice belonging to them in this ſtreet, for an Athenian, named Nicias,

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 40.

[x] Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99. Id. Inſcript. in Not. p. xxvii.

[y] Stuart. t. ii. p. 100. Wheel. book 5. p. 397. Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, part. 1. p. 20. Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, chap. 4. p. 27.

[z] Chandl. Inſcript. part 2. p. 49. Ibid. in Not. p. xxii.

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who had been their choregus, and had obtained the palm at the festivals of Bacchus, and at those named Thargelia. It further declares, that from that time (from the archonship of Euclid, in the year 403 before Christ), the names of such of the tribe as should gain similar advantages, on certain festivals mentioned in the decree, should be inscribed on the same column.

From what I have said, it is evident that the street of the Tripods extended along the eastern side of the citadel.

The Odeum of Pericles. At the end of the street I have been speaking of, and before he came to the theatre of Bacchus, Pausanias found an edifice of which he does not tell us the destination. He only observes, that it was built after the model of the tent of Xerxes, and that having been burnt by Sylla during the siege of Athens, it was afterwards rebuilt [a]. Let us compare with this testimony what we find in other authors concerning the ancient Odéum of Athens. This theatre [b] was erected by Pericles [c], and intended for musical competitions [d]: the roof, which was constructed of the masts and yards of the vessels taken from the Persians [e], and in its form imitated the tent of Xerxes [f], was supported by columns of stone or marble. Its shape had furnished a subject for many pleasantries. Cratinus the poet, in one of his comedies, wishing to signify that the head of Pericles was of a pointed shape, said that Pericles wore the Odéum on his head [g]. The Odéum was burnt at the siege of Athens by Sylla [h], and soon after restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia [i].

From these passages, collected from different authors, it is very evident that the edifice spoken of by Pausanias is the same with the Odéum of Pericles; and from the passage of Pausanias, that this Odéum was situated between the street of the Tripods, and the theatre of Bacchus. This position is confirmed likewise by the authority of Vitruvius, who places the Odéum to the left of

[a] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 47.
[b] Suid. in Ωδ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1104.
[c] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9. Suid. ibid.
[d] Hesych. in Ωδ.
[e] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[f] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
[g] Cratin. ap. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
[h] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. p. 331.
[i] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hist. p. 189.

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the theatre [k]. But it may be said that Pausanias had already given the name of Odéum to another structure. I shall soon reply to that objection.

Theatre of Bacchus. On the south-west angle of the citadel, the ruins of a theatre still exist, which had always been taken for that of Bacchus, in which tragedies and comedies were represented. Dr. Chandler, however [l], has placed the theatre of Bacchus at the south-east angle of the citadel; and I have followed his opinion, for several reasons. 1st, From observation of the ground, Mr. Chandler is of opinion that a theatre had formerly stood there; and M. Foucherot has since verified the fact. 2dly, Pausanias [m] relates, that above the theatre was to be seen in his time a tripod in a grotto hewn out of the rock: now precisely above the spot where Mr. Chandler has supposed the theatre to have stood, is a grotto formed out of the rock, and since converted into a church, under the title of *Panagia Spiliotissa*, which may be rendered *Our Lady of the Grotto*. Let it be observed too, that the word *spiliotissa* clearly designates the word σπήλαιον, which Pausanias employs to signify this cavern. The reader may here consult what travellers have said of this grotto [n]. It is true that above the other theatre, to the south-west, there are two sorts of niches, but it is impossible in any way to confound them with the grotto mentioned by Pausanias. 3dly, Xenophon [o], when speaking of the exercise of the cavalry, which was performed at, or rather near to, the Lycæum, says: "When the horsemen shall have passed the angle of the theatre, which is opposite, &c.:" the theatre then was on the side of the Lycæum. 4thly, I have said, that at the principal festivals of the Athenians, choruses, taken from each tribe, disputed with each other the palm in dancing and music; that a tripod was bestowed on the victorious tribe, which was consecrated to the gods; that underneath this offering was engraven the name of the tribe, that of the citizen who maintained the chorus at his expence, and sometimes that of the poet who had composed the verses, or the teacher who had exercised the per-

k Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9.
l Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 64.
m Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 49.
n Wheel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Spon, t. ii. p. 97. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 62.
o Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.

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formers [p]. I have said likewise, that in the time of Pausanias there existed a tripod in the grotto which was above the theatre. Even at present we see at the entrance of this grotto a kind of triumphal arch, bearing three inscriptions of different periods, in honour of two tribes who had gained a prize [q]. One of these inscriptions is of the year 320 before Christ, and posterior only by a few years to the travels of Anacharsis.

Since we find at the extremity of the Acropolis, and on the south-east side, monuments erected for those who had been crowned at the competitions usual at the theatre [r], we are justified in presuming that the theatre of Bacchus was situated at the termination of the street of the Tripods, and precisely at the spot where Mr. Chandler has supposed it. For, as I have already observed, in Chap. XII. the trophies of the victors would naturally be near the field of battle.

The authors who lived at the period I have chosen, speak only of one theatre; for that, the ruins of which are seen at the south-west angle of the citadel, did not exist in their time. I concur with Mr. Chandler, in supposing the latter to be the Odéum which Herodes, the sons of Atticus, built five hundred years after, and on which Philostratus bestows the name of Theatre [s]. "The Odéum of Patræ," says Pausanias [t], "would be the mo stbeautiful of any in Greece; were it not eclipsed by that of Athens, which surpasses every other in magnitude and magnificence. It was erected by Herodes the Athenian, after the death, and in honour of, his wife. In my description of Attica I have omitted this Odéum, because I had finished my account of Athens before Herodes had begun the building." Philostratus remarks likewise that the theatre of Herodes was one of the most beatiful edifices in the world [u].

Mr. Chandler supposes the Odéum, or theatre of Herodes, to have been erected on the ruins of the Odéum of Pericles. I cannot be of his opinion. Pausanias, who places the latter edifice elsewhere, does not, in speaking of the former, say that Herodes

[p] Plut. in Themistocl. t. i. p. 114.
[q] Wheel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 5.
[r] Demost. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.
[s] Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. in Herod. lib. 2. p. 551.
[t] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 20. p. 574.
[u] Philostr. ibid.

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rebuilt it, but that he built it, ἐποίησεν. On Mr. Chandler's hypothesis, the ancient Odéum would have been on the right of the theatre of Bacchus; whereas, according to Vetruvius, it was on the left[x]. Besides, I have already shown that the Odéum of Pericles was at the south-east angle of the citadel.

We may now conceive the reason why Pausanias, while proceeding along the southern side of the citadel, from the south-east angle, where he found the theatre of Bacchus, says nothing either of the Odéum, or of a theatre of any kind; for the fact is, that there existed none at the south-west angle at the time he wrote his first book, which treats of Attica.

Pnyx. Situated on an eminence at a small distance from the citadel, we still see the remains of a monument which has been sometimes taken for the Areopagus[y], sometimes for the Pnyx[z], and at others for the Odéum[a]. It is a large space, the enclosure of which is partly cut out of the rock, and partly composed of huge blocks of stone, hewn diamond fashion. With Mr. Chandler, I take it to be the square of the Pnyx, where the people occasionally held their assemblies. And indeed the Pnyx was surrounded by a wall[b], and situated opposite to the Areopagus[c]. From this place there was a view of the harbour of Piræus[d]. All these marks apply to the antiquity in question. But there is another still more decisive evidence: "When the people are seated on this rock," says Aristophanes, &c.[e]; and it is of the Pnyx that he is speaking. I omit other proofs which might be adduced in support of these.

Pausanias, however, seems to have taken this monument for the Odéum. What must we conclude from this?—That, in his time the Pnyx, of which he does not so much as speak, had changed its name, because the people having ceased to assemble there, the musical competitions had been transferred to this place. By comparing with each other all the notices to be collected on this head,

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x Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9.

y Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 116.

z Chandl. Travels in Greece, chap. 13. p. 68.

a Wheel. book 5. p. 382. Le Roi. Ruines de la Gréce, t. i. p. 18.

b Philocor. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 998.

c Lucian. in Bis. Accusat. t. ii. p. 801.

d Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121.

e Aristoph. in Equit. v. 751.

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we shall be led to conclude that this trial of skill originally took place in an edifice built at the south-east angle of the citadel, which is the Odéum of Pericles; afterwards in the Pnyx, the Odéum spoken of by Pausanias; and finally in the theatre, a part of which is still remaining at the south-west angle of the citadel, the Odéum of Herodes, the son of Atticus.

Temple of Jupiter Olympius. To the north of the citadel, some magnificent ruins still subsist, which attract the attention of all travellers. Some [f] have imagined that they discovered in them the remains of the superb temple of the Olympian Jupiter, begun by Pisistratus, which was more than once attempted to be completed, the columns of which were conveyed to Rome by Sylla, and which was finally rebuilt by Adrian [g]. Their conjectures are founded on the description of Pausanias, which does indeed seem to indicate this position [h]; but Thucydides [i] expressly says, that this temple was to the south of the citadel; and his testimony is accompanied with particulars which will not allow us to adopt the correction that Valla and Palmerius proposed to make in the text of Thucydides. Mr. Stuart [k] has availed himself of the authority of this historian, to place the temple of Jupiter Olympius to the south-east of the citadel, on a spot where some large columns, commonly called the Columns of Adrian, are still to be seen. His opinion has been combated by M. Le Roi [l], who takes the columns in question for the remains of a pantheon of that emperor. Notwithstanding the deference I have for the discernment of these two learned travellers, I had at first suspected that the temple of Jupiter Olympius, placed by Thucydides to the south of the citadel, was an ancient temple, which according to a tradition related by Pausanias [m], was built in the remotest ages by Deucalion, and that the temple on the northern side had been founded by Pisistratus. This supposition would reconcile Thucydides with Pausanias; but as new difficulties would result from it, I determined to lay down at a venture, in my plan, a temple of Jupiter Olympius to the south of the citadel.

f Wheel. book 5. p. 392. Spon. t. ii. p. 108.
g Meurs. Athen. Attic. l. 1. c. 10.
h Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 42.
i Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 15.
k Stuart. Antiq. of Athens chap. 5. p. 38.
l Le Roi Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce t. ii. p. 21.
m Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 43.

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Mr. Stuart has taken the ruins to the northward for the remains of the Pœcile [n]; but I hope I have proved that this celebrated portico was a part of the forum, situated near the gate Dipylon. Besides, the edifice of which these ruins formed a part, seems to have been built in the time of Adrian [o], and consequently is foreign from my plan.

The Stadium. I have not assigned the situation of this in my plan, because I imagine it to have been posterior to the times of which I treat. It appears, that in the age of Xenophon, it was usual to exercise in running, in a course, perhaps on a road which began at the Lycæum, and extended towards the south, and under the walls of the city [p]. Some time after, the orator Lycurgus caused a piece of ground, which one of his friends had given to the republic, to be levelled, and surrounded by causeways [q]. Afterwards, Herodes, the son of Atticus, rebuilt and almost lined with marble, the stadium, the ruins of which still subsist [r].

The Walls of the City. I omit to discuss many questions that might be started relative to the walls which surrounded the Piræus, and Munychia, and those which from the Piræus and Phalerum terminated at the walls of Athens; and I shall only say a word respecting the circumference of the city. It is impossible to determine its form, but we are able pretty nearly to ascertain its extent. Thucydides [s], when enumerating the troops necessary to guard the walls, says, that the part of them necessary to be defended was 43 stadia in length, and that one part remained which stood in no need of defence, namely, that which lay between the two points where the wall of Phalerum on the one side, and that of the Piræus on the other, terminated in the city wall. The scholiast on Thucydides assigns for the length of this part 17 stadia, and consequently reckons for the whole circumference of the city 60 stadia (or about two leagues and a quarter). Were we to adopt this mensuration, the wall of Phalerum would reach as far

[n] Stuart. ibid.
[o] Le Roi. Ruin. des Monum. de la Gréce, t. ii. p. 16.
[p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. ib. 2. p. 476. Id. de Magist. Equit. p. 959.
[q] Lycurg. Vit. X. Rhet. ap. Plut. t. ii. p. 841.
[r] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 46. Philostr. de Vit Sophist. lib. 2. p. 550.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

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as the Lycæum, which is not possible. Some considerable error must have crept into the scholiast.

I have relied in this particular, as well as in laying down of the long walls, and the environs of Athens, on the sagacity of M. Barbié, who, after carefully studying the topography of this city, has been so obliging as to execute the feeble essay which I present to the public. As we differ on some capital points concerning the interior parts, it is not just that he should be answerable for the errors that may be discovered in this part of the plan. I might also have covered it with houses, but it would have been impossible to distribute them into streets.

SAME CHAP.—Page 372.

On two Inscriptions given in this Chapter.

I have rendered the word ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕ, in the Greek text, by these words, *composed the piece, wrote the tragedy.* Yet as it sometimes signifies, *had prepared or instructed the actors*, I will not answer for my translation. Concerning this word, the reader may refer to the notes of Casaubon on Athenæus (lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 260.); those of Taylor on the Sandwich Marble (p. 71.); Van Dale on the Gymnasia (p. 686.); and others.

SAME CHAP.—Page 379.

On the Manner of lighting the Temples.

The temples had no windows; some received light only by the door; in others, lamps were suspended before the principal statue [t]; others again were divided into three aisles, by two ranges of columns. The middle aisle was entirely open, and sufficed to admit light into the side aisles, which were covered [u]. The grand

[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 396. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 63.

[u] Id. ibid. Vitruv. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 41.

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arcades which we discover in the lateral parts of a temple still subsisting among the ruins of Agrigentum [x] have been laid open long after it was built.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 380.

On the Internal Columns of the Temples.

IT appears that the temples of the Greeks were at first very small. When their dimensions were increased, the roof was supported by a single range of columns withinside, above which were others that reached to the roof. This was the method employed in one of those ancient temples, the ruins of which I have seen at Pæstum.

In process of time, instead of one row of columns, they erected two; and then the temples became divided into three aisles. Such was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as Pausanias tells us [y]; and that of Minerva at Athens, as M. Foucherot has ascertained by observations on the spot. The temple of Minerva at Tegea in Arcadia, built by Scopas, was of the same kind. Pausanias informs us [z], that of the internal columns, the first order was Doric, and the second Corinthian.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 380.

On the Proportions of the Parthenon.

ACCORDING to M. Le Roi [a], the length of this temple was 214 feet, 10 inches, and 4 lines *; and its height 65 feet (French) †. Let us convert these measures into Grecian feet, and we shall have about 227 feet for its length, and for its height about 68 feet 7 inches. As to its breadth, that seems to be indicated by the

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[x] D'Orville. Sicula. cap. 5 p. 97.
[y] Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 400.
[z] Id. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 693.
[a] Le Roi. Ruines de la Grèce, part. 1. p. 30. part. 2. pl. xx.
* 229 feet 2 inches English.
† 69 feet 4 inches English.

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name hécatonpédon (100 feet), which the ancients bestowed upon this temple. And M. Le Roi found, in fact, that the frize of the front was 94 feet 10 inches *, which corresponds with 100 Grecian feet [b].

SAME CHAP.—Page 382.

On the Quantity of Gold employed in the Statue of Minerva.

Thucydides says [c] 40 talents; other authors [d] say 44; others again 50 [e]. I follow the testimony of Thucydides. Supposing that, in his time, the proportion of gold was 1 to 13, as it was in the time of Herodotus, the 40 talents of gold would give 520 talents of silver, which, at 5400 livres the talent, would produce a total of 2,808,000 livres. But, as in the age of Pericles, the drachma was worth at least 19 sols (9½d.), and the talent of silver 5700 livres (237l. 10s.), (see the note which accompanies the table of the value of the Greek money, in vol. iv. of this work), the 40 talents in question were worth at least 2,964,000 livres (or 123,500l. Sterling).

SAME CHAP.—Page 382.

On the Manner in which the Gold was distributed on the Statue of Minerva.

The goddess was habited in a long tunic, which must have been of ivory. The ægis or skin of the goat Amalthea covered her breast, and probably her left arm, as we see on some of her statues. The borders of the ægis were surrounded by serpents; and in the field of the buckler, covered with the scales of serpents, appeared the head of Medusa. Thus is the ægis represented on

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* 101 feet 1 inch English.

[b] Le Roi. ibid. p. 29.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

[d] Philochor. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604.

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.

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monuments, and in ancient authors[f]. But Isocrates, who was still living at the period in which I suppose the younger Anacharsis to have travelled in Greece, observes[g], that the gorgonium had been stolen; and Suidas[h], speaking of the same fact, adds, that it was forced off from the statue of Minerva. From a passage of Plutarch[i] it appears, that, by this expression, we must understand the ægis.

Let us now see of what the ægis taken from the statue was composed. Not to mention that no person would have stole it, had it not been of precious materials, Philochorus informs us[k], that the robbery complained of respected the scales and the serpents. The question here has no connection with a serpent which the artist had placed at the feet of the goddess. That was only an accessory, an attribute that required no magnificence; and Philochorus speaks of serpents in the plural.

From these circumstances, I conclude, that Phidias had made the scales which covered the ægis, and the serpents suspended around it, of gold. This is confirmed by Pausanias[l], who says, that Minerva had on her breast a head of Medusa in ivory: an unnecessary remark, if the ægis was of the same substance, and the head not relieved by the ground of gold to which it was affixed. The wings of the Victory which Minerva held in her hand were likewise of gold. Some robbers, who had got into the temple, found means to detach them; and betrayed themselves by quarrelling about the division of their booty[m].

From different testimonies, which I omit to adduce, it may be presumed that the basso-relievos of the helmet, the buckler, the buskins, and perhaps of the pedestal, were of the same metal. The greater part of these ornaments were still in existence at the period I have chosen. They were carried off some time after, by a person named Lachares[n].

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[f] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8. v. 436.
[g] Isocr. adv. Callim. t. ii. p. 511.
[h] Suid. in Φιλαίας.
[i] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 117.
[k] Philochor. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604.
[l] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 58.
[m] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 792. Ulpian. ibid. p. 821.
[n] Pausan. ibid. cap. 25. p. 61.

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CHAP. XIV.—Page 394.

On the Presidents of the Senate of Athens.

Every thing relative to the officers of the senate, and their functions, is attended with so many difficulties, that I shall content myself with referring my readers to the learned authors who have discussed the subject, as Sigonius (de Repub. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4.); Petav. (de Cycl. differt. 3. § 43.); Sam. Pet. (Leg. Attic. p. 188.); and Corsin. (Fast. Attic. t. i. differt. 6).

SAME CHAP.—Page 398.

On the Decrees of the Senate and of the People of Athens.

Nothing was executed but by virtue of the laws and of decrees[o]; the difference of which consisted in this, that the laws were obligatory on all the citizens, and perpetually binding; whereas the decrees, properly so called, respected only individuals, and were but of temporary operation. It was by a decree that ambassadors were dispatched, crowns bestowed on citizens, &c. When the decree was of such a nature as to comprehend all times and persons, it then became a law.

CHAP. XVII.—Page 423.

On a singular Decision of the Areopagus.

To the fact I have given in the text, another may be added, which occurred long after, and in an age, when, though Athens had lost all her glory, that of the Areopagus still shone in its meridian splendour. A woman of Sicyon, exasperated at the barbarity of a second husband, and of a son she had by him, who slew a

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[o] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 787.

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promising youth she had born by her former spouse, determined to poison them both. After a prosecution before several tribunals that neither ventured to condemn nor to acquit her, the matter was brought before the Areopagus, which, after a long examination, ordered the parties to appear again before the court in one hundred years from that time [p].

CHAP. XX.—PAGE 439.

On the Game of Dice.

M. DE PEIRESC had in his possession an antique calendar, ornamented with drawings. At the month of January, a man was represented holding a dice box in his hand, and throwing the dice into a sort of a tower, placed on the edge of a chequer-board [q].

SAME CHAP.—PAGE. 450.

Prices of various Articles of Merchandise.

IN the text, I have given the price of some articles of provisions, such as it was at Athens in the time of Demosthenes. About 60 years before, in the time of Aristophanes, a workman's pay was 3 oboli (9 sols, or fourpence halfpenny [r]); a race-horse was worth 12 minæ, or 1200 drachmas (1080 livres, or 45 l.) [s]; a mantle, 20 drachmas (18 livres, or 15 shillings); dress for the feet and legs, 8 drachmas (7 livres 4 sols, or 6 shillings) [t].

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[p] Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 1. Aulus Gellius, lib. 12. cap. 7; et alii.
[q] Vales. in Harpocr. p. 79.
[r] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 310.
[s] Id. in Nub. v. 1227.
[t] Id. in Plut. v. 983.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 451.

On the property bequeathed to Demosthenes by his father.

The father of Demosthenes was esteemed a rich man [u]; yet he left his son only about 14 talents, nearly 75,600 livres (or 3150 l. sterling [x]). His inheritance chiefly consisted in the following articles: 1st, A sword manufactory, in which thirty slaves were kept at work [y]. Two or three of the principal ones were each of them worth 500 or 600 drachmas, about 500 livres (or near 20 guineas); the others at least 300 drachmas, 270 livres (11 l. 5 s.): their labour was annually worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112 l. 10 s.), all expences deducted. 2dly, A manufactory of beds, which employed twenty slaves, worth 40 minæ, or 3600 livres (150 l.): they produced annually 12 minæ, or 1080 livres (45 l. sterling). 3dly, A stock of ivory, iron, and wood [z], worth 80 minæ, or 7200 livres (300 l. sterling). The ivory was made use of for the bed feet [a], or the handles and sheaths of swords [b]. 4thly, Gall-nuts and copper, worth 70 minæ, or 6300 livres (262 l. 10s.). 5thly, A house, worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112l. 10s.) 6thly, Furniture, vases, cups, gold trinkets, robes, and the toilet of his mother; 100 minæ, or 9000 livres (375 l.). 7thly, Money lent out, or employed in trade [c].

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[u] Demosth. in Aphob. p. 896, 901, 904.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 895.
[y] Id ibid. p. 896.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 48.
[b] Demosthen. in Aphob. p. 898. Laert. lib. 6. § 65.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 896.

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